THE BLACK PANTHER

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

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25¢



Tenants Vow To Continue Rent Strike

ROTTING STAIRWAY COLLAPSES AT LA PERALTA—BLACK MAN INJURED

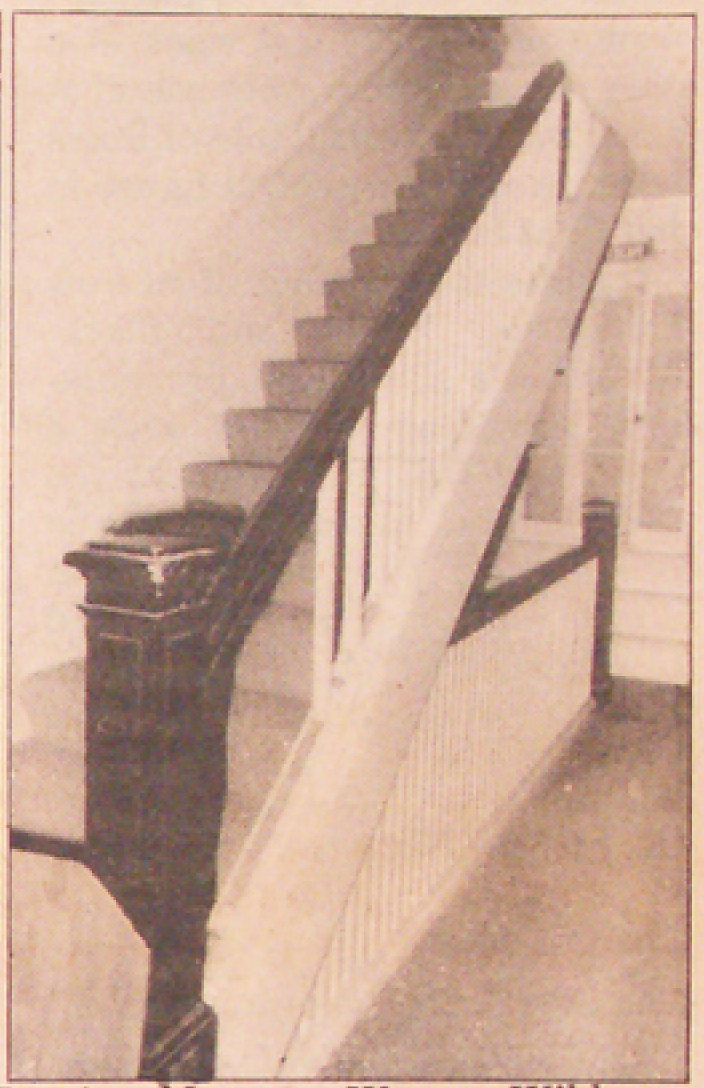
(Oakland, Calif.) - A Black man was injured at the La Peralta apartments last week when a third floor. bannister which the city Housing Conservation division had previously ordered the millionaire slumlord owner of the building to fix collapsed.

In other developments at the downtown Oakland residence, whose predominantly Black tenants have been engaged in a rent strike since last December 15 to protest the building's indecent housing conditions, an inspection was made of 15 apartments that owner William E. Nickerson agreed to repair in a court settlement last month. In few cases had any repairs been made.

Earl Adkins was visiting a relative who lives in the La Peralta last Saturday morning, February 18, when the bannister on the third floor steps in the rear of the building where he was walking collapsed. Adkins' screams of pain aroused several of the tenants, among them Kirmet Rooney, tenant spokesperson and organizer of the rent strike.

In early December, when a reporter and photographer from THE BLACK PANTHER first visited the La Peralta at Rooney's request, one of the first deficiencies he showed them was this same bannister, which was falling apart at that time.





Defective heater (above) and rotting stairway at La Peralta apartments.

A report made to Nickerson on February 6 by Assistant Housing Manager Warren Wildman concerning a full survey of the La Peralta made by the city on January 25 said, in part:

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"Attack" Manual To Get Addresses Of Militant Blacks

K.K.K. "DIRTY TRICKS" REVEALED

(Atlanta, Ga.) - David E. Duke, the media-conscious imperial wizard of a newly packaged Ku Klux Klan that is appealing for new members on the basis of "nonviolent" racism, admits that he and fellow Klansmen are the authors of an "attack" manual ascribed to a fictitious Black militant.

Duke denied in an interview that the manual, written under the name "Muhammad X" and carefully salted with misspellings and bad punctuation, was intended to stir racial animosities among Whites.

Instead, he said, it was intended to allow the Klan to compile, through mail-order sales, a list of "radical Blacks" that it could use in the event of racial warfare, which Duke said he and his followers were sure would occur.

He declined to say precisely how the Klan would use the list, but the implications are obvious — omnious.

The manual, called "African Atto" — translated as "African Attack" — is copyrighted in the name of C.E. Hardin, the maiden name of Duke's wife, Chloe, the *New York Times* reports.



Ku Klux Klan cross burning.

In the interview in New Orleans, where Duke's group, one of a dozen often bitterly competitive Klan groups, has its headquarters, he was asked if he knew of the book. He said he did, and the following exchange took place:

Q: "Who wrote it?"

A: "Well, some people associated with me."

Q: "Why?"

A: "Specifically, because we wanted to compile a list of Blacks who were involved in racist activities against White people. The ads that sold this book were very racist, and the most radical Blacks who were opposed to White people."

Q: "It's purportedly by someone called Muhammad X, but it's really by your people, by you, actually?

A: "It's not actually written by me."

Q: "(Chloe Duke) holds the copyright, but this is a manual that purports to be —

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Editorial

"KING"—TO CLOSE FOR COMFORT

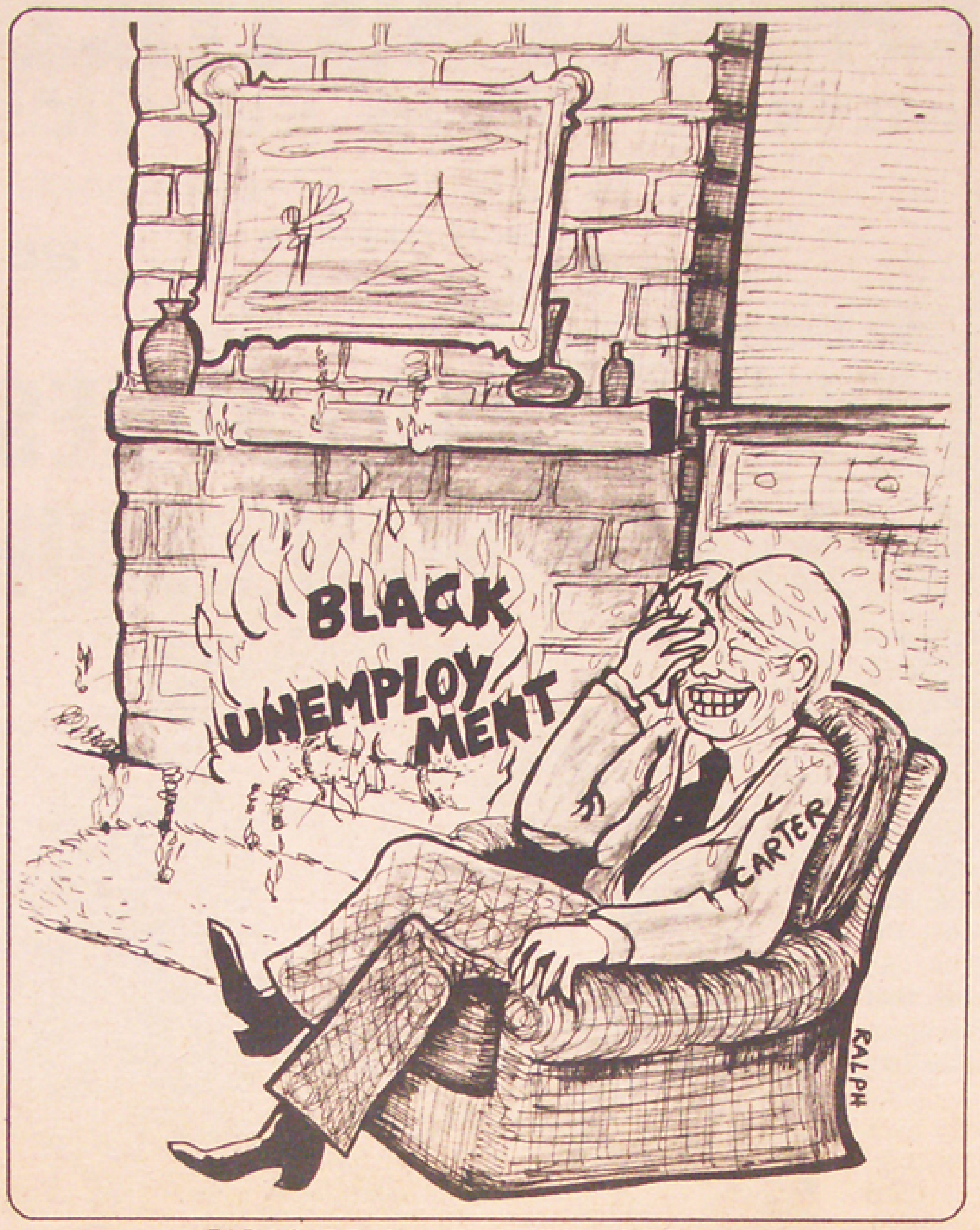
It's too bad more people didn't watch the *King* "docu-drama" shown on NBC-TV last week — a story which, from this view at least, was a powerful tale of Black struggle and of a central figure in that fight in our era.

Despite the harping of narrow distractors, White and Black, *King* was a significant presentation, providing viewers with a broad and rich panorama of the civil rights movement, while focusing on the personal and public reactions (in dramatized form certainly) of a man whose was an undisputed leader of Blacks in his day; a man whose picture still today adorns the homes of many in the Black community, particularly, we might add, in the projects and tenements of our central cities.

For the first time ever on prime time TV, J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI were shown actively conspiring to thwart the push for Black rights, while madly plotting to upset and discredit King through phoney notes suggesting suicide, disrupting demonstrations, and sending out a set of nasty tapes on his sex life. There it was (and is, we might add) on the tube, an arm of the federal government, its internal police force, attacking the goals and aspirations of Black citizens.

But no one watched — or so few as to make the program a rating disaster. The first two-hour King episode ranked 64th out of 64 rated programs last week, outdrawn by *Gator* and *How the West was Won* in its own time slot. The eight consecutive nights of *Roots*, for example, had a Neilson rating of 44.9; the first two nights of *King* averaged 13.8.

Roots was real and Black and painful, but distant. *King* was real and Black and painful, but close at hand. And just as there's something about America and its terrible oppression/repression that drives some to oppose it, even at the cost of their lives, there's something about it that drives some folks away, the closer it is, the faster they go — click, change the channel, and it's gone. But it's not. □



FIRESIDE CHAT GETS HOTTER

Letters to the Editor

MESSAGE FROM MARION PRISON

Dear Editor,

The Black Culture Society is a prisoner organization born out of the Black revolt of the late sixties. Based inside of Marion federal prison, the organization concerns itself with the legal, social, and political problems that affect prisoners in particular, and the external community in general.

Inside the prison, BCS has served the prison population on a day-to-day basis by conducting general education classes on subjects like speech-making history, math, art, drama, political economy and American politics. BCS has developed over the years a 1,500-book library, despite the numerous letters prison officials have sent to publishers and authors discouraging them from sending us books. The BCS has donated many excess copies of books to the Erma Hayes Community Center in Carbondale, Illinois. We also have an ongoing program to solicit entertainment and movies for the general population.

Since June, 1974, Marion prison officials have gradually escalated their coordinated, systematic racist campaign to ease BCS out of existence. Successive prison officials have on many occasions used veiled threats of solitary confinement and denial of parole to force BCS members not to actively be critical of Marion prison officials and their hideous behavior modification program housed in H. Block.

Robert (Hodari) Houchens was placed in segregation from November 4, 1975, until April, 1976, denied parole because of good-time taken, and has been permanently banned from BCS for sending out a letter to the printed media and concerned individuals critical of the prison administration here at Marion.

Marion's education supervisor, R.L. Williams, and past associate warden Fred Frey have stated explicitly to BCS elected representatives that the organization cannot be used as a forum to advocate social change. These two officials on numerous occasions have stated that as far as the Marion prison administration is concerned Black people's culture consists soley of socializing, singing, dancing and handicrafts, and that it is the express intent of Marion prison officials to confine BCS activities to such.

These two officials forced BCS, under threat of disbandment to dilute its definition of culture in its constitution. This was done to force BCS to conform restrict its activities to their racist concept of Black people's culture.

In September, 1974, R.L. Williams handed BCS a severe cutback in its continuing basic education program. Our classroom time was cut from eight

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COMMENT

"The Principles Of The Universal Negro Improvement Association"

By Marcus Garvey

The following commentary, the fourth and final article featured during the month of February as part of a special BLACK PANTHER celebration of Black History, presents excerpts from a speech entitled "The Principles of the Universal Negro Improvement Association" delivered by Marcus Garvey at Liberty Hall, New York City, on November 25, 1922.

Over five years ago the Universal Negro Improvement Association placed itself before the world as the movement through which the new and rising Negro would give expression of his feelings. This Association adopts an attitude not of hostility to other races and peoples of the world, but an attitude of self-respect. . . .

Wheresoever human rights are denied to any group, wheresoever justice is denied to any group, there the UNIA finds a cause. And at this time among all the peoples of the world, the group that suffers most from injustice, the group that is denied most of those rights that belong to all humanity, is the Black group. . .

We represent a new line of thought among Negroes. Whether you call it advanced thought or reactionary thought, I do not care. If it is reactionary for people to seek independence in government, then we are reactionary. If it is advanced thought for people to seek liberty and freedom, then we represent the advanced school of thought among the Negroes of this country. We of the UNIA believe that what is good for the other folks is good for us.

If government is something that is worthwhile; if government is something that is appreciable and helpful and protective to others, then we also want to experiment in government. We do not mean a government that

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CECIL RILEY IN OFFICE SINCE 1972

OAKLAND CITY MANAGER RESIGNS

(Oakland, Calif.) - His constant clashes with the city's first Black mayor, Lionel Wilson, finally taking their toll, Oakland City Manager Cecil Riley submitted his resignation to the City Council last Tuesday night.

Riley's ungraceful exit — he refused to attend the Council meeting — marked a first, though uncertain, step in the creation of a new, hopefully more progressive, city administration here, where racial and ethnic minorities actually make up a majority of the population.

At the crux of the Wilson-Riley disputes, ongoing since the Black former Superior Court judge took office last July 1, was Wilson's aggressive posture toward alleviating skyrocketing rates of local unemployment (estimates of the jobless rate in Oakland range between 15 to 25 per cent, and upwards of 60 per cent for Black teenagers) and Riley's slow conservative response.

Under the city manager form of government prescribed by Oakland's City Charter, the city manager, a non-elective position, is the chief administrator while the mayor, the city's top elected official, theoretically is limited to ceremonial duties.

Yet interpretations of the Charter vary, and Riley's rigid, narrow interpretation was in opposition to Wilson's more dynamic approach. Although opinions of his performance in office may vary, Wilson obviously has no intention of being merely a figurehead.

The *coup de grace* behind Riley's departure from the $52,480 a year job he has held since 1972 stemmed from a confrontation between him and Wilson over his appointment of a non-Oakland resident as the city's public information officer.

At a Council hearing on affirmative action in hiring two weeks ago, Wilson raked Riley over the coals, saying that his him in charge of the city's affirmative action program was "like putting the fox to watch the chickens."

At that time Wilson fired a barrage of questions at Riley, charging, "Was there any advertising of this job? Did you know she does not live in Oakland? Did you know she is not an ethnic minority? Is it of no concern to you that the mayor has a "Hire Oakland' program? Did it ever occur to you that it might be worthwhile discussing this with the mayor?"



Ex-Oakland City Manager CECIL RILEY (far left) and former Mayor JOHN READING (center) opposed programs supported by current Mayor LIONEL WILSON to alleviate the high rate of unemployment in the city's Black and poor community.

ARCH CONSERVATIVE

Prior to Wilson's election, Riley's relationship with former Mayor John Reading, a notorious arch conservative, had been close. Together, the pair had stalled on implementing basic economic development and social service programs designed to aid the city's Black and poor minority population. Instead, the Reading-Riley administration dreamed of a "businessman's delight" — the downtown City Center Project. Only vocal protest led by the Black Panther Party forced the city to come up with a housing relocation/construction program for those displaced by the project.

Following an executive session of the City Council last Tuesday, Mayor Wilson announced that city attorney David Self would be named acting city manager until a replacement for Riley is found.□

TRIAL STARTS

Ex-Oakland Cops Charged In Bloody Beating Of Black Man

(Oakland, Calif.) - The trial of three White former Oakland cops charged in the bloody beating of a Black man got under way last week after the systematic elimination of prospective Black jurors.

RACIST ATMOSPHERE

Under the unbearable strain of the racist courtroom atmosphere, the victim, Stanley Hendrix, 26, broke down on the witness stand. Despite an admonition by Judge Duncan and Deputy District Attorney Thomas Donnelly to "hold it," Hendrix strode from the witness stand, in tears, declaring, "I'm leaving — no matter what." Oakland Municipal Court Judge Roderick Duncan recessed the trial as a result of Hendrix's illness.

Before the trial, more than 70 prospective jurors had been called for examination. Most of the discharged panelists were Blacks who were dismissed from the case by Duncan after he declared their past dealings with Oakland police made it impossible for them to be fair with the former police defendants.

As a result, only three Blacks now sit on the jury.

Before he broke down, Hendrix calmly told the jury that in the early morning hours of July 18 he was driving a girlfriend home when a patrol car sought to stop him.



Police harassment is a daily occurrence in Oakland's Black community.

"Did you stop?" asked prosecuting attorney Donnelly.

"No," replied Hendrix. "I was tired of being stopped. . .I just didn't want to be stopped that particular morning."

Hendrix said he then led the

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MUSIC PROGRAM

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL — A MODEL IN ACTION

The following is the conclusion of a series of articles on the model elementary level Oakland Community School (OCS). The Music Program is featured in this week's article.

CONCLUSION

(Oakland, Calif.) - "That's my baby," cooed a proud mother as she listened to her son bring down the house with a vocal solo at a recent OCS monthly performance.

The American public school system has done little to develop the artistic and musical talents of Black and poor children. One of the strong points of the OCS Music Program is that throughout the School's seven years of existence, numerous children have learned the necessary skills and gained the confidence to make them able entertainers.

In the primary skills levels 1-3, the children are introduced to the concept of rhythm. They learn how to sound out different forms of rhythm by clapping their hands, stomping their feet, beating sticks and other methods.

The ability to distinguish between different rhythmic sounds helps the children understand the theory of music. Levels 4-6 students learn that whole notes, half notes, quarter notes, eighth notes and others, each of which has an individual time value, provide music with the necessary rhythm or movement.





BPNS photos

Level 4A OCS student (above) learns basic music theory and younger children sing in monthly performance.

Music classes at the OCS provide the children with a solid background in the various musical forms. They study spirituals, gospel music, jazz, "soul" music, the blues, classical music, reggae, "disco" music, country and western music and others.

While most of the children at the OCS are Black, and considerable time is spent on Black music forms — spirituals, gospel music, jazz, the blues and "soul" music — the Music curriculum seeks to help the children gain an appreciation for all types of music.

An integral part of the Music Program is the monthly performance created by the children. Many of these performances are plays, but musical selections are usually featured.

Music is a form of art, a method of self-expression. The monthly performances and other activities of the OCS Music Program enable the children to achieve this self-expression, which is an important element in their educational and personal development.□







The creative Music Program of the OCS has developed the vocal skills of the children, many of whom are top notch entertainers.

This Week In Black History



Congressman CHARLES DIGGS

February 24, 1970

A confrontation erupted in Washington, D.C., on February 24, 1970, between Charles C. Diggs and arch-segregationist Georgia Governor Lester Maddox when Maddox began to pass out ax handles in the House of Representatives restaurant. The ax handles were being distributed by Maddox as souvenirs of the days when he wielded one to bar Black patrons from entering his restaurant in Atlanta during the civil rights struggle of the 1960's. When Diggs saw the handles being passed out he demanded that Maddox be ousted from the premises. Maddox insulted the highly-respected Black Congressional Caucus leader by saying that Diggs was acting more "like a baboon than a member of Congress." A policeman had to intervene to ward off a very ugly situation.

February 24, 1971

The U.S. Supreme Court, controlled by appointees of the Nixon administration, severely limited the scope of the 1966 Miranda decision in a February 24, 1971, decision. The Miranda decision held that incriminating statements taken by police before a prisoner was fully informed of his rights were inadmissible as courtroom evidence. However, the high court's new ruling stated that a prisoner can testify or refuse to testify, but the privilege cannot include the right to commit perjury, and therefore, evidence which was once regarded as inadmissable can be used by the prosecutor to contradict a defendant's own testimony.

U.S. GOVERNMENT FEAR OF WIDESPREAD BLACK UNREST SPARKED POLITICAL ATTACK

ATTEMPT TO FRAME MARCUS GARVEY DETAILED IN 1919 HOOVER MEMO





MARCUS GARVEY with supporters (above) and federal agents following his false conviction on mail fraud charges.

"The capitalists realized that the movement led by Garvey, the movement for Negro independence. . .contained the embryo of the future revolutionary movement. . .And the American government decided to smash Garvey's organization by killing him politically as a leader. . ."
— International Peasants Council, August 21, 1925

(Oakland, Calif.) - Spearheaded by the Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, the U.S. government fulfilled the analysis of the Peasants Council quoted above, framing on criminal charges (in 1923) and finally deporting (in 1927) the country's leading and most vocal advocate of Black nationalism, Marcus Garvey — aided, in part, by a then young, but aspiring, member of the Bureau, J. Edgar Hoover.

In 1919, with seething Black protest against British colonialism, organized in large part by Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), spreading throughout the Caribbean, and unrest among the Black workers digging the U.S.-controlled Panama Canal heightening daily, rumors began to circulate that Garvey himself planned to go to the Canal Zone to speak.

Such a situation was intolerable for the U.S. and special measures were put into motion.

An October 11, 1919, memo from J. Edgar Hoover to a colleague in the Bureau of Identification reflects the federal government's concern:

"[Garvey had been] particularly active among the radical elements in New York City in agitating the Negro movement. Unfortunately, however, he has not violated any federal law whereby he could be proceeded against on the grounds of being an undesirable alien, from the point of view of deportation. It occurs to me, however, from the attached clipping that there might be some proceeding against him for fraud in connection with his Black Star Line propaganda."

Hoover ended his memo by adding that Garvey's newspaper, *Negro World*, had upheld "Soviet Russian Rule" and was thereby communist connected.

On October 15, 1919, R.P. Stewart, advised the Labor Department that if no action could be taken against Garvey under the immigration laws, they should refer all their records to the Postmaster General so that an investigation could be made to find out if Garvey had used the amils to defraud.

Subsequently, the government prepared a case against Garvey and brought him to trial. Found guilty of using the mails to defraud stockholders of the Black Star Line Corporation, he received a sentence on June 21, 1923, of five years in prison and a fine of $1,000. The Justice Department immediately started proceedings for his deportation. When he entered Atlanta Peni-

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PATTERN OF HARASSMENT

Are Black Officials Being Set-Up?

(Chicago, Ill.) - More than 100 Black leaders and politicians have been audited by the IRS or investigated by the FBI since the beginning of the '70s.

The investigation of any politician is big news and these investigations have been given prominent coverage. The result has been not only damage to personal reputations, but a public perception that Black leaders are corrupt and out for their own personal gain. This in spite of the fact that very few of the Black leaders have been convicted of any wrongdoing.

The Sacramento-based National Association of Human Rights Workers has now issued a book-length report on this subject, *The Dilemma of Black Politics: A Report on Harassment of Black Elected Officials.* Drawing on news reports, interviews, research and correspondence, author Mary Warner documents more than 100 cases of Black officials confronted by various forms of governmental harassment.

"The leaders that were developed through the poverty programs of the '60's," Warner writes, "were audited and investigated; charged with misuses of funds and incompetent management.

"The programs that challenged the status quo were 'defunded' or 'modified' or 'transferred,' the staffs were left jobless, with new skills and no way to utilize them, with new expectations and no way to realize them. . .Over and over again, the dominant characteristic of those who are assailed is their commitment to human rights and their stand on civil rights. . . .

"[Harassment] occurs in small towns and major urban areas, in integrated districts as well as

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Congressional Black Caucus members (left to right) CHARLES RANGEL, SHIRLEY CHISHOLM and WILLIAM CLAY are among numerous Black officials who have been subjected to phoney government probes meant to discredit them.

BLACK MAN INJURED AT LA PERALTA

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE

"Provide handrails at interior stairways on both sides (when four or more risers exist)."

Adkins told THE BLACK PANTHER in a telephone interview that he sustained serious injuries in his back but that Highland Hospital doctors who examined him would not hospitalize him or give him any type of treatment.

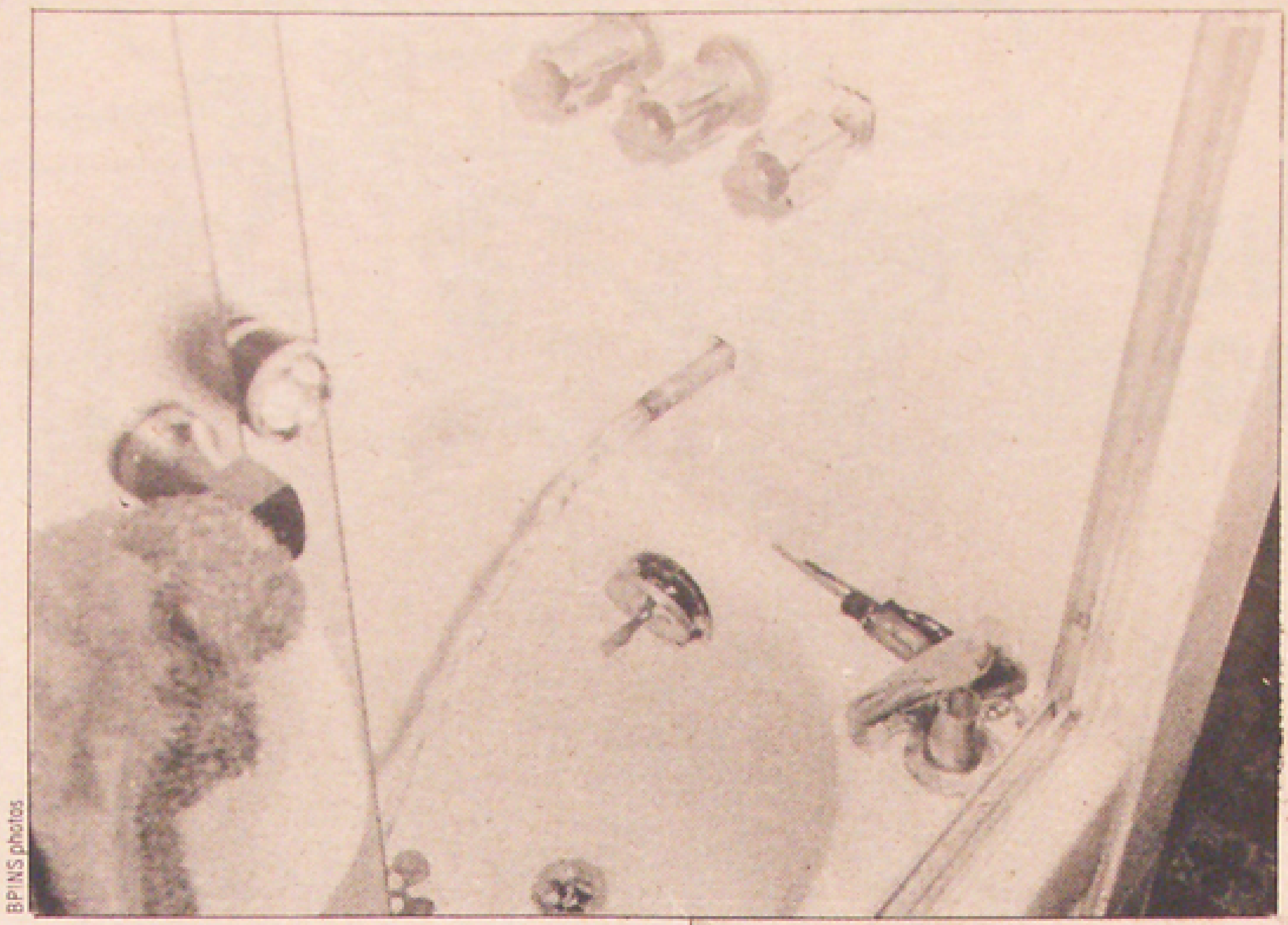
On Friday, February 17, representatives of the La Peralta Tenants Association's Central Committee met with their attorneys, Geoffrey Etnire and John Haptas, and Nickerson and Barry J. King to discuss progress being made on the repairs. King is president of Montgomery Street Properties, a San Francisco-based company that Nickerson has hired to manage the La Peralta.

The hiring of Montgomery Street Properties (MSP) represents a victory for the tenants. One of their consistent complaints has been the incompetent managers and their rapid turnover. MSP, while clearly acting in Nickerson's interests, is a professional management company.

Greg King, the brother of MSP President Barry King, is the new manager of the La Peralta. Along with members of the Tenants Association's Central Committee, Etnire, and a reporter and photographer from THE BLACK PANTHER, Greg King inspected the 15 apartments which Nickerson agreed to repair in the court settlement made with the tenants last month.

The inspection was necessary because of the tenants' insistence that few, if any, of the repairs have been made and Nickerson's allegations that he has fulfilled his part of the agreement.

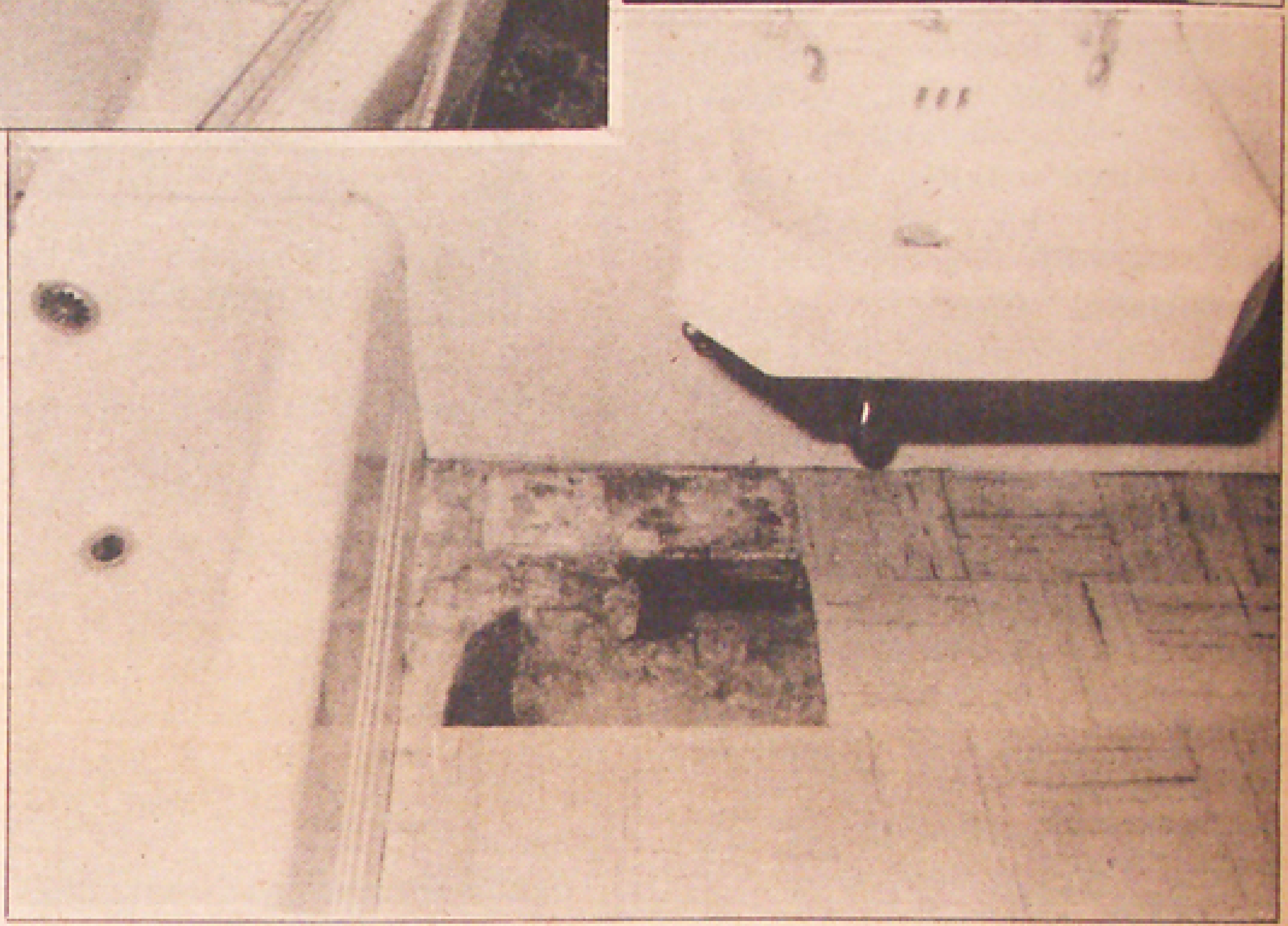
Five of the 15 apartments were among 22 cited for numerous building code violations by the Housing Conservation division during a partial inspection of the La Peralta in November of last year.





BPINS photos

La Peralta tenant organizer *KIRMET ROONEY (far right) and manager GREG KING inspect defective apartment door. The building's slumlord owner has violated a court agreement requiring him to make repairs.*



The court settlement stipulated that some of the repairs were to be made by February 1 and others by February 20. The inspection was made on February 21 and 22.

Apartment 204, rented by Johnnie Lott, a Tenants Association Central Committee member, provided a typical example of the sloppy, and in many cases, nonexistent repair work.

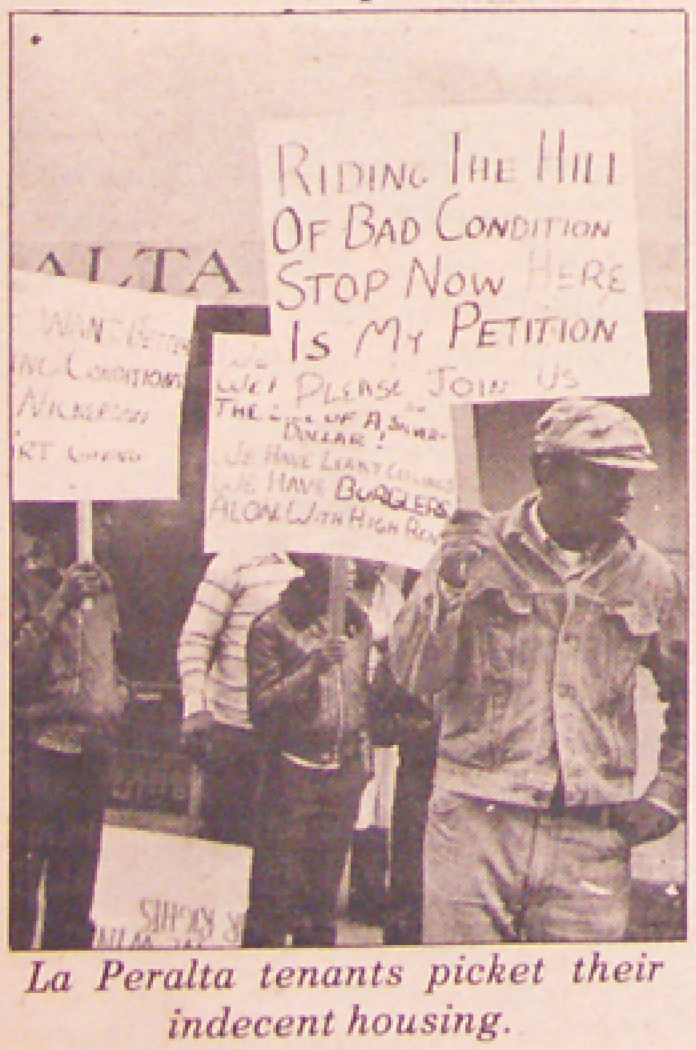
The Friday before the inspection, the gas radiator in Lott's bedroom was to have been secured to the wall. When the inspection was made, Lott angrily displayed the heater which had already fallen off the wall. Greg King's insinuation that Lott sabotaged it outraged the tenants present.

In Apartment 206, rented by tenant spokesperson Kirmet Rooney, a botched repair job has left him without a bathtub faucet.

In addition, numerous building code violations in Rooney's apartment, which Nickerson agreed to repair, have not been dealt with. These included improperly installed electrical outlets and garbage disposals, faulty kitchen pipes and falsified bedroom and living room walls.

When the city conducted a partial inspection of the La Peralta last December, it found that the walls and wiring in 22 of the apartments were improperly installed and ordered them immediately repaired.

As the result of last week's inspection, the tenants have vowed to continue their rent strike. The prevailing sentiment of the residents was best summed up by Johnnie Lott: "I don't care what anyone else does. I'm sick and tired of this. I'm going to sue Nickerson."□



La Peralta tenants picket their indecent housing.

Oakland Police Brutality Case Begins

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three defendants, Officers Ted Gully, Jack Landeros and Melvin Perreira, on a chase of several miles before he leaped from his slow moving car.

"I ran up this driveway," Hendrix related, "and when the police yelled 'Halt!' I fell on the ground face down. They were on me real quick. I tried to cover myself into a ball but they hit me on the head and body."

"Even now I can't identify anybody who beat me because I was in bad shape, very fuzzy in the head."

Hendrix recounted how he was "still lying there when another police officer, Spanish or Oriental, walked up and kicked me in the head."

Hendrix said he was taken to Highland Hospital, treated for head injuries and returned to city jail. Later he was taken to Santa Rita jail but had to be returned to a hospital when he lapsed into unconsciousness.

The Oriental officer Hendrix referred to was Stanley Lowe. Lowe is charged with felony assault in the Hendrix incident but is being tried separately.

The three White former cops are being prosecuted on misdemeanor assault charges.

Hendrix has a $7 million civil suit pending against the city as a result of the incident.

During the racist jury selection, the judge and defense lawyers continuously reminded potential jurors that the ex-officers are White and that Hendrix is Black. The question, said the defense, is whether this fact would cause bias among Black jurors.□

BIG PUBLICITY BUILD-UP HYPES NOTHING NEW, COVER-UP CONTINUES

HALDEMAN'S WATERGATE REVELATIONS - NO HONOR AMONG THIEVES

(Washington, D.C.) - Former White House Chief of Staff H.R. Haldeman, once described as Richard Nixon's alter ego, last week charged that the former President was responsible for the Watergate break-in and cover-up in his new book *The Ends of Power*.

According to Haldeman:

•Nixon "himself caused those burglars" to break into Watergate.

•Nixon "was in on the cover-up from Day One."

•The Watergate scandal evolved when Presidential aide Charles Colson was ordered by Nixon to "get something" on Lawrence O'Brien, then Democratic Party national chairman.

•Nixon threatened to expose the CIA for its involvement in the Kennedy assassination if it refused to participate in the cover-up.

•Nixon "simply began to erase all of the Watergate material from the tapes when he started to worry that they might be exposed."

Haldeman's 352-page, $12.95 book was originally to be released February 27, but was rushed out last week after excerpts of the manuscript were leaked. The leak to the *Washington Post* touched off a furor in book publishing circles and among newspapers and magazines that had paid thousands of dollars for the rights to print parts of the story this week.

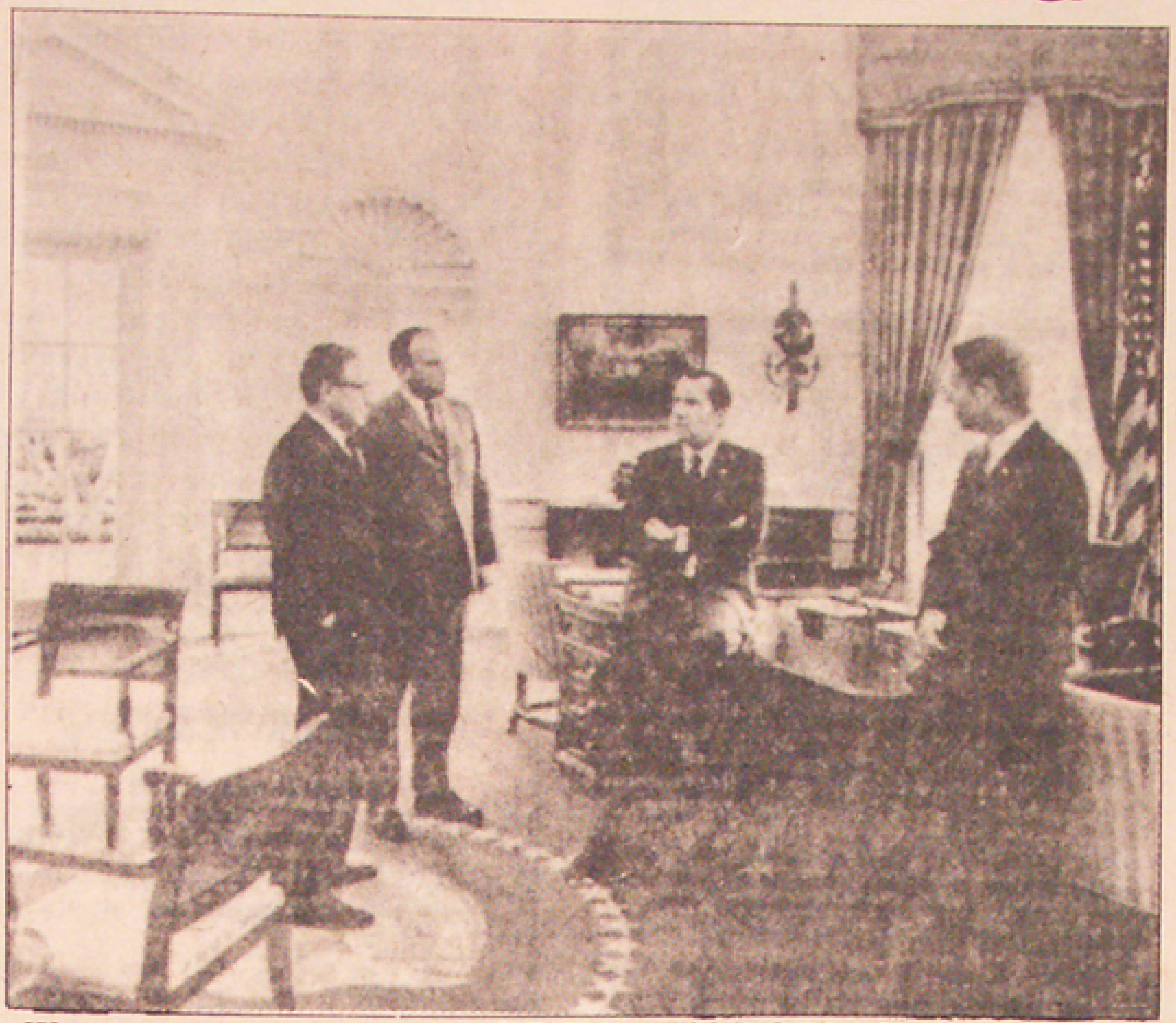
LOMPOC

Haldeman is currently serving a prison sentence at the Lompoc, California, federal penitentiary for his part in the Watergate case.

Bob Woodward, whose reporting of the Watergate scandal with Carl Bernstein won a Pulitzer Prize for the *Washington Post*, said there was no new evidence revealed in the book and that it was mainly theories.

"These are the people who said the truth is negotiable, and I think we have another version of the negotiated truth. I'm not sure that Haldeman has told us everything. I think he's holding back something," Woodward said on NBC-TV's *Today* show.

Other Watergate accounts have laid the genesis of the June 17, 1972, Democratic Party headquarters burglary to the eagerness of Nixon re-election officials



Watergaters (left to right) HENRY KISSINGER, JOHN ERLICHMAN, RICHARD NIXON and H.R. HALDEMAN.

to gather political intelligence. No one has come as close as Haldeman in placing Nixon at the planning stage.

Nixon, he writes, "sometimes seemed to lose touch with reality" on matters pertaining to multi-millionaire Howard Hughes, whom he blamed for his election defeats in 1960 and 1962. And the President long suspected that Lawrence O'Brien was a paid Hughes lobbyist while serving as Democratic Party chairman.

"I believe it is almost certain that Nixon asked Colson to help him 'nail' O'Brien," Haldeman writes. "Colson naturally turned to Hunt. And Hunt tried to it by tapping O'Brien's telephone at the Watergate."

E. Howard Hunt, a retired CIA agent with a long record of shady

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"OLD BOYS" GO

C.I.A.'s Turner: U.S. Intelligence Czar

(Washington, D.C.) - U.S. Intelligence Czar! An ominous title, especially as we trudge among the ruins of the J. Edgar Hoover FBI regime. Nonetheless, CIA Director Stansfield Turner has, in effect, been bestowed such a title by President Carter.

Civil libertarians at home and past targets of CIA assassination plots abroad, no doubt are asking, "What does it mean?"

The CIA director, responding to critics who have attacked him for his abrupt firing of over 200 senior operatives, the so-called "old boy" agents who comprised the agency's clandestine arm, said the agency "has been run like a family business for the last 30 years."

"We have an abundance of people," Turner said, "who came in during the height of the Cold War. I am trying to get ready for the day when they go out of the system."

On the other hand, earlier this month, a day after Turner labeled the "old boy" agents remnants of the Cold War, an order by President Carter giving U.S.

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$26 MILLION FOREIGN AID BILL

Congressman Charged With Illegal Haiti Deals

(Washington, D.C.) - The U.S. Department of Justice is investigating charges that a powerful Pennsylvania congressman made several profitable business deals as the result of a $26 million foreign aid bill for Haiti that he pushed through Congress in 1973.

Federal prosecutors in the Organized Crime Strike Force of the Justice Department said last week that a former top aide to Congressman Daniel J. Flood, Steve Elko, has accused his ex-boss of receiving over $100,000 in payoffs from U.S. businessmen. Part of that figure involves deals other than those concerning Haiti.

Elko was sentenced to a three-year prison term on January 9 on charges of bribery in a 1972 case. He and Flood were charged with pressuring the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) not to cut off student loans to a group of



Impoverished Haitian women and Congressman DANIEL FLOOD (inset).

unaccredited West Coast trade schools and for receiving kickbacks from the schools.

Elko was subsequently brought to trial on the charge and convicted. The ex-Congressional aide testified that he had been paid $28,000 not to testify about Flood and that the two of them shared in the trade schools payoff.

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Black Officials Set-Up

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predominantly Black jurisdictions,'' she continues.

''It has touched over half of the 16 members of the Congressional Black Caucus; three of four Black state executives; dozens of Black state legislators; at least 20 Black mayors. . .''

Of these, less than five per cent were convicted of wrongdoing. Only about a third actually went to trial.

Warner charges ''to the business community, a Black mayor committed to affirmative action in employment and contracts may be a threat. . .To southern landowners, a Black tax assessor who can initiate a reassessment may be a threat.''

These charges are supported by Warner's documented case studies. Those ''investigated'' include Julian Bond, Charles Evers, Carl Stokes, Charles Rangel, Shirley Chisholm, William Clay, Charles Diggs, John Conyers, Lt. Governors George Brown (Colorado) and Mervyn Dymally (California).

The Warner Report also includes a provocative reassessment of the late Adam Clayton Powell, concluding that the controversial Harlem representative's chief error was not the many allegations he incurred — which did not stand up legally — but that he played the political game around him, taking junkets, juggling funds, using congressional privileges in questionable ways — acts for which his colleagues were not hounded, but for which he, as a strident critic of racism, evoked congressional wrath.



Lt. Gov. MERVYN DYMALLY has been unjustly ''investigated.''

Many Blacks who appear in the Warner Report are committed to humane political reforms. They have been unjustly punished while the media plays a key role in their persecution.□

Illegal Haitian Deals

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Revelations concerning the Haiti affair emerged from a *New York Times* probe of the trade schools scandal. By last week the *Times* had gathered substantial reports implicating Flood in the use of his position to enrich himself or his friends.

According to the *Times*, Flood has close ties with Haitian dictator Jean-Claude ''Baby Doc'' Duvalier. Lucien Rigaud, a prominent Haitian businessman and a one-time Duvalier favorite, had letters written by Flood indicating that he had voluntarily pushed legislation through Congress to aid Haiti.



Haitian children are victims of harsh poverty.

Rigaud, now in asylum in the Mexican embassy in Port au Prince, Haiti, to avoid arrest by Duvalier, said that the Haitian affair began in November, 1973, when Flood sent Elko to meet with Duvalier, sending a letter in which he explained that his aide had come to ''discuss certain subjects of mutual interest.''

Urged on by Elko, Duvalier wrote Flood asking for assistance in the areas of agriculture, health, water, welfare and roads.

In a brief time, Flood, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee on Labor-Health, Education and Welfare and a ranking member of the Defense Appropriations Committee, guided a $26 million foreign aid bill for Haiti through Congress. The bill was signed by former President Richard Nixon.

Following the passage of the legislation, Flood arranged several business contracts for implementing the bill.□

People's Perspective

Ray's Brother Becomes Bodyguard

(Marietta, Ga.) - Jerry Ray, 42, brother of James Earl Ray, the convicted killer of Dr. Martin Luther King, has been living at the Atlanta headquarters of J.B. Stoner's National States Rights party, where he earns his board as a bodyguard and errand runner for the Marietta attorney who defended James Earl Ray. Stoner is currently fighting extradition to Alabama where he faces murder charges in connection with the deaths of four young Black girls who were killed in the 1958 bombing of a Birmingham church.

Black Marine Released

(San Diego, Calif.) - Private Eddie Page, the Pendleton 14 defendant given the harshest sentence, was released January 20 after serving five months of a two-year sentence. At Page's court-martial in August, 1977, he was also given a bad conduct discharge. Protests against the sentence occurred across the country and Bay Area Congressman Ron Dellums requested that the Secretary of Navy review the case. Page's sentence was eventually reduced to nine months.

College Aid Plan

(Washington, D.C.) - President Carter recently proposed a tuition-aid program that would add $1 billion to basic grants and expand the loan program to include students of families making up to $45,000 a year. The program would guarantee a minimum grant of $250 to students whose families make up to $25,000 annually with larger grants allowed for students of families earning less than $16,000.

C.I.A. Sues Vietnam Critic

(New Orleans, La.) - Attorney General Griffin Bell announced last week that the Justice Department is filing a civil lawsuit against Frank W. Snepp III, a former CIA analyst, for publishing his book *Decent Interval* without CIA clearance. Snepp's book exposed the wholesale blundering, corruption and the ''national disgrace'' involved in the panicky U.S. evacuation of Saigon during the Vietnam war.

Skyhorse-Mohawk Trial

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Concluding nearly eight months of testimony, the prosecution has rested its case against Native American leaders Paul Skyhorse and Richard Mohawk. Skyhorse and Mohawk face trumped-up charges of fatally stabbing a cabdriver. The prosecution's star witness, Marvin Redshirt, was drunk ''to the point of coma'' during his testimony but Judge Floyd Dodson did not remove him from the stand until after the defense attorneys insisted on an alcohol test. Under cross-examination, Redshirt admitted that he didn't know anything about the incident.

Black Cops Charge ''Sell Out''

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Officers for Justice (OFJ), an organization of predominantly Black police officers here, has voiced fears that Justice Department interference may result in a ''sell-out'' in their anti-discrimination suit against the San Francisco Police Department. The OFJ charges that Justice Department attorneys have been meeting secretly with the city attorneys. A key issue in the case is whether $2.2 million in federal law enforcement funds for San Francisco should be cut off because the city has failed to end racial discrimination in its police force. The OFJ fears a deal is being made to defeat their suit which goes to trial on March 21.

Poverty ''Cripples'' Minorities

(Washington, D.C.) - In a report on civil rights progress during 1977, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights said that unemployment and poverty continued to ''cripple'' progress for minorities and women while the overall employment position of White males improved. The Commission said that the refusal of many states to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment and a new federal law severely restricting the use of Medicaid funds for abortions represent serious setbacks. The Commission also found that in numerous communities police abuse of minority citizens intensified.

Georgia Conspiracy Charges Dropped

(Hancock County, Ga.) - Conspiracy charges against seven Georgia community project officials and supporters were dropped last week in what defendants called a victory over local racists.

The seven accused of defrauding the U.S. government were among 13 Black and White officials and supporters of the East Central Committee for Opportunity (ECCO). The committee, founded in 1970, has been embroiled in a racist attempt by the federal government to destroy the Hancock County project and has been the target of extreme local harassment. ECCO had developed enterprises worth $1.6 million, providing jobs for many Black residents, and had helped in the election of a number of Black officials in the 70 per cent Black county.

Trials began two weeks ago for Marian Farleigh, formerly ECCO program director; Roosevelt Watson; Gloria Gardner; Edith Ingram, the county's probate judge and former secretary to ECCO's board of directors; John Askew; Charles Solomon, and Gerald Poe. Charges against six other defendants were dropped last year when the statute of limitations ran out.



Riot police break up student protest at U.C. Berkeley. U.C. officials have for years supplied the CIA with information on student unrest.

STUDENT UNREST AT ISSUE

LONGTIME C.I.A. TIES WITH UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - A long history of contacts between the Central Intelligence Agency and the University of California — highlighted by a highranking U.C. vice president's tour of duty with the CIA during the height of student unrest in the 1960's — is revealed in documents released by the CIA last week.

The documents, about 800 pages dating from the late 1950's through 1977, have been released under the Freedom of Information Act and made available to the *Los Angeles Times*.

They cover a wide range of cooperative activities conducted between the university, several of its nine campuses and the intelligence agency, including:

•The U.C. vice president's two-week tour with the CIA during which he advised the agency on such matters as student unrest, recruiting U.C. students, academic cover for professors doing research for the CIA and improving the agency's public relations image on the U.C. campuses.

•A series of CIA-sponsored seminars in Berkeley and other locations with select professors thought to be friendly to the agency, to share information.

•Providing a steady flow of CIA materials on China and the Soviet Union to CIA-approved professors.

The Freedom of Information request on the CIA's relations with the University of California was originally filed in May, 1976, by Nathan Gardels, a political science student and research assistant at the University of California at Los Angeles. The request was endorsed by a number of U.C.'s student and staff groups.

But the CIA has released only portion of the documents, and the private Center for National Security Studies in Washington, D.C., joined Gardels to file appeals. The Center is expected this week to file a lawsuit to force the CIA to release the remainder of the documents.

As is the government's practice in releasing documents under the Freedom of Information Act, the names of informants are blanked out. An investigation by the *Times* determined that it was former administrative vice president Earl Clinton Bolton who served an active tour of duty with

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1,000 PACK BOARD MEETING

S.F. Mass Protest Over Schools Cutbacks

(San Francisco, Calif.) - Over 1,000 angry San Francisco parents packed a marathon school board meeting here last week to voice their opposition to the approval of a massive reorganization of the city's public school system.

The parents, many waving placards denouncing the restructuring plan, flooded Nourse Auditorium for the final vote — which came on the 89th roll call at 3:30 a.m. Thirty-five speakers sharply criticized the so-called "redesign plan," focusing most of their wrath on the proposed closing of eight schools.

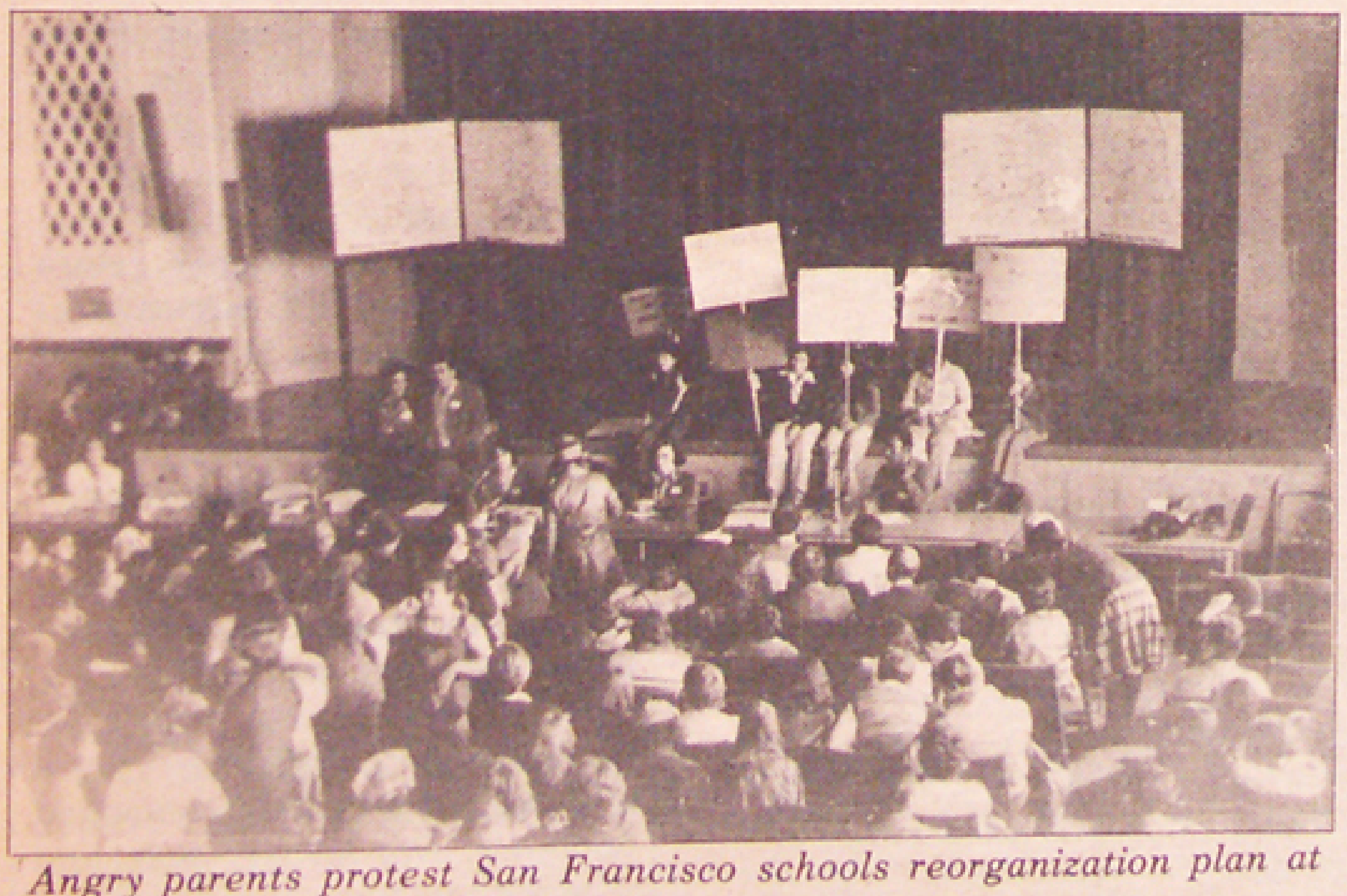
The widely-criticized plan was devised by schools superintendent Robert Alioto. Eighteen schools will be converted to new uses by the time the new plan goes into effect on September 6 — the day school opens this fall. Eight schools will eventually be closed altogether.

Under the new plan, more than 11,000 of the district's 64,000 students will be assigned to different schools this fall.

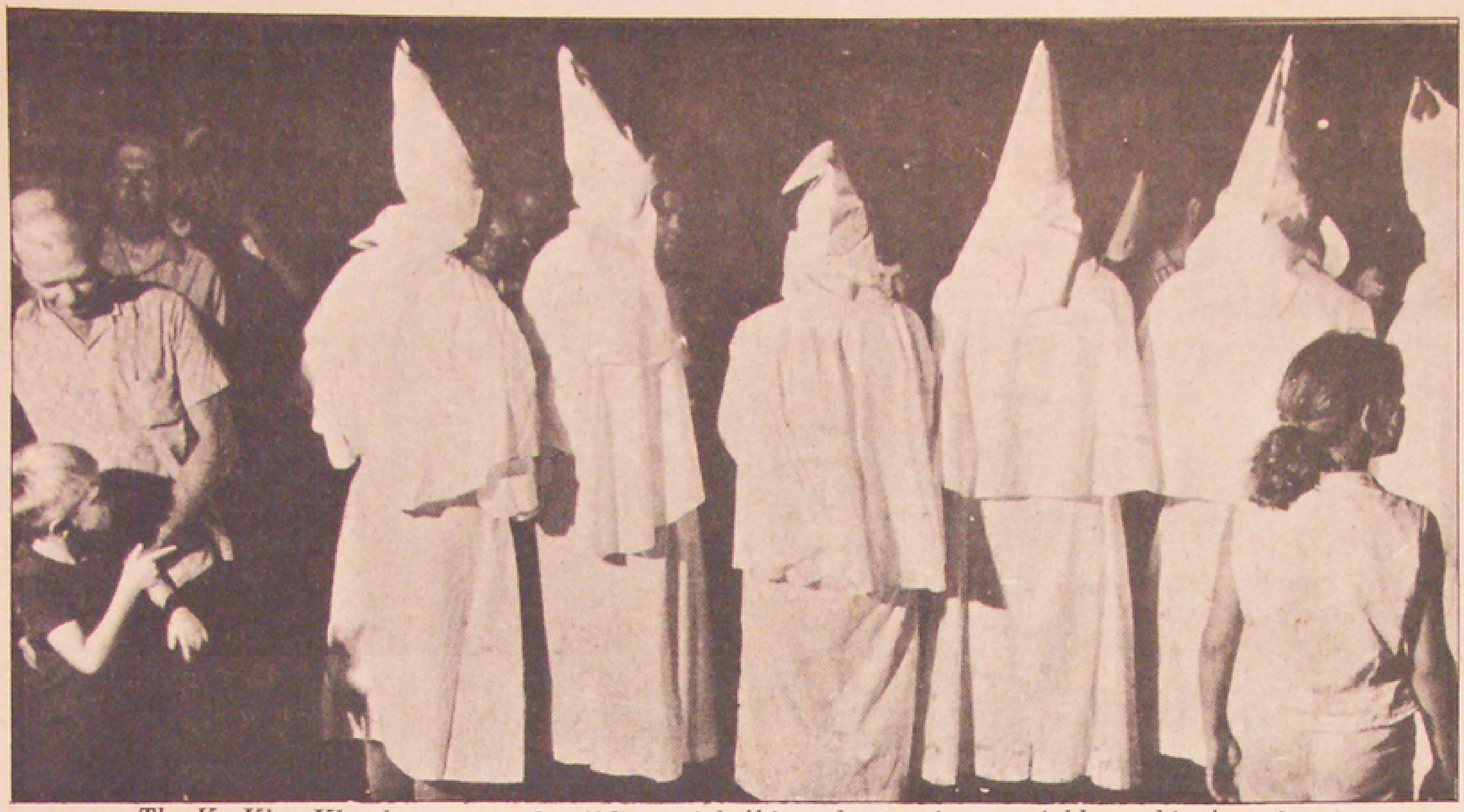
The busing of school children, which was ordered by U.S. District Court Judge Stanley A. Weigel in 1971, will continue, but on a drastically reduced level: only 6,000 instead of the current 14,000 children will be bused. District integration guidelines will also be changed.

Procedurally, the "redesign plan" will be submitted to Weigel, who will take its integration guidelines into account and

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Angry parents protest San Francisco schools reorganization plan at Horace Mann meeting.


The Ku Klux Klan has resorted to "dirty tricks" in order to stir up racial hatred in America.

K.K.K. "DIRTY TRICKS"

CONTINUED FROM FRONT PAGE
that tells how to kill White people — written by a Black man. In fact, it was written by Klansmen?

A: "I believe very strongly that America is headed for a racial conflict. What the book essentially did was get us the names of the most radical Blacks in the United States, so that when the time comes we will know where they are."

Q: "So that when 'Armageddon comes. . . .?"

A: "We think it is coming, we think our streets are already battlegrounds."

Duke, who estimates that he has appeared on 700 radio and television broadcasts in the past few years, invariably says that his new Klan is not violent and is interested primarily in separation of the races.

Duke conceded in the interview, however, that before he devoted his full energies to the Klan, he was affiliated with "numerous right-wing organizations," including the National States Rights Party. That group's leader, J. B. Stoner, is awaiting trial on a charge of setting off dynamite near a Black church in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1958. A fellow Klansman, Robert Chambliss, has been convicted of the 1963 bombing of the Birmingham church in which four young Black girls died.

Through his new, image-conscious, media-conscious approach, Duke says, he has been able to attract new converts to the Klan, many of them young, middle-class and educated.

But the literature he circulates, notably *The Crusader*, his Klan newspaper, offers for sale Nazi-oriented books and publications and manuals on making bombs and other explosive devices.

"I feel that in terms of what is happening in this country," he said, "that the opposition, that the liberals, they have this knowledge, so, I think there should be libraries, repositories, of this knowledge so that White people can fight back when the time comes."□

No Honor Among Theives

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7
clandestine dealings, was Colson's protege at the White House and the Nixon re-election committee. He and G. Gordon Liddy, the election committee's lawyer in charge of political intelligence, recruited the five burglars who were caught inside Watergate and they were convicted with them.

Colson denied Haldeman's charges that he and Nixon ordered the burglary.

Post reporter Woodward said he believed Nixon's Watergate troubles involved more than just sending out Colson to get something on O'Brien.

"It should be remembered from the testimony that this break-in team did not work for Colson," he said. "They were working for the President's re-election committee.

"I think all of the evidence shows that Nixon lit lots of matches, and handed one to Colson perhaps, one to Haldeman, one to Dean, one to Erlichman," Woodward said.

Woodward declined to comment on "Deep Throat," the *Post* reporters' secret source who provided damaging information during the unraveling of the Watergate conspiracy. Haldeman contends that "Deep Throat" was Fred Fielding, an aide to Nixon counsel John Dean.

Dean has since noted, in responding to the conjecture, that Fielding was out of the country during some of the period.

Commenting on excerpts of Haldeman's book he had seen, Dean said, "Maybe much of this speculation is actually hard information that he had to put in a speculative vein because otherwise the courts could turn around and say, 'Well, Mr. Haldeman, you didn't know about this before —does this mean your amnesia seems to have gone? You've got answers to questions we've asked you for years."

Haldeman's book makes allegations concerning a dangerous Sino-Soviet confrontation.

Nixon's former foreign affairs aides are disputing Haldeman's claim that the Soviet Union asked the United States to join in a nuclear strike against China in 1969.

Haldeman alleges that the Russians were considering a pre-emptive nuclear attack on China's atomic testing facilities during that period.

The man who is the ghost or co-author of *The Ends of Power* said Haldeman thinks Nixon used a secret $200,000 campaign fund for political favors — but did not put the accusation in his book.

Joseph DiMona made the remarks during a taping of the *Dick Cavett Show*.□

BEHIND THE WALLS

L.A. Jail Explodes

(Castaic, Los Angeles County) - About 300 inmates at a jail farm rioted for one and a half hours last Monday swinging farm tools and burning down the infirmary, before they were subdued by 90 sheriff's deputies.

No serious injuries were reported in the fighting at the Wayside Honor Ranch, 40 miles north of downtown Los Angeles.

One inmate was injured in a racial fight that brought on the outburst. He was hospitalized in good condition.

The violence began as a fight between Black and Mexican-American inmates, with about 50 involved. When guards tried to stop the fighting, more inmates joined in and turned on the deputies, swinging hoes, axes and other implements.

The sheriff's special weapons squad was called to help quell the outbreak and used a small amount of tear-gas.

County firemen, trying to extinguish the infirmary fire, were driven back by prisoners throwing rocks. The building burned to the ground.

Deputies finally herded the inmates onto a baseball diamond and held them there while they searched the barracks for weapons.

"We have the troublemakers isolated, and they will be reassigned to maximum security around the county," sheriff spokesman Chet Ballew said after the melee.

"You cannot forget about this tomorrow," he added. "There will be a few days of extra precautions. We'll have an increased number of men on duty."

More than 85 deputies from throughout the county were rushed to this hilly, agricultural area to bolster the normal complement of six guards at the minimum security ranch.

It's surrounded by a low chain link fence and has no guard towers. Most of its 700 prisoners are serving terms of less than one year on minor offenses.

Six of the honor farm's 25 barracks-style buildings were ravaged. The inmates smashed windows, overturned beds and stopped up toilets.

VICTIMS BEATEN

Two Black Men Killed In L.A.P.D. Custody—Angry Protest

(Los Angeles, Calif.) - Officers of the 77th Division, a police fortress in Los Angeles' Black community, added two more names this month to their list of "accidental" jail deaths.

Alvin Whitehead, 37, became the second Black man in two weeks to die while in Los Angeles Police Dept. (LAPD) custody. Like Ferdinand Bell, 21, he was a victim of the "academy approved choke-hold," which gave Whitehead fatal spinal injuries and a broken neck.

For police it was the same old story. They say Whitehead became unruly while under the



Police brutality is mounting across America.

influence of drugs and had to be subdued, but eyewitnesses claim it was the old familiar scene with Whitehead the victim of a brutal beating, *People's World* reports.

Whitehead's death occurred just two days after a major community conference on police harassment and abuse, initiated by the Coalition Against Police Abuse (CAPA) and attended by more than 200 representatives of student, clergy, labor and community organizations.

Prompted by the 37 fatal police shootings in 1977 plus at least 15 "unexplained" jail deaths, the conference called for federal Civil Rights Commission hearings to be held in Los Angeles on police killings. A CRC investigation is underway nationally, but it is not certain that Los Angeles is on the hearing list.

Standing in the converted pool

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ATMORE-HOLMAN BROTHER JOHNNY HARRIS SEEKS STAY

ALA. PRISON ACTIVIST FIGHTS MARCH 10 EXECUTION

(Atlanta, Ga.) - On February 8, the Alabama Supreme Court denied a stay of the March 10th execution date for prison activist Johnny ("Imani") Harris. Harris is one of two Black men convicted of murder under a Civil War era statute mandating the death penalty for a prisoner convicted of murder while serving a life sentence.

Harris' lawyer will be filing a state habeas corpus petition in Birmingham Superior Court next week. The petition will challenge the validity of the original convictions which made Harris susceptible to prosecution under Alabama's old law. Lawyers will ask that a stay be granted pending a decision on the issues raised in the petition.

Amnesty International has recently announced its decision to support Harris' case as a gross violation of human rights. Harris' sentence has raised the concern of many that the death penalty is being levied in this case as an execution for political activity.

Harris is one of the Atmore-Holman Brothers, prisoners accused of killing a prison guard because they protested inhuman conditions and brutal treatment at Atmore Prison in southern Alabama in 1974. The guard died when prison warden Marion Harding ordered state troopers to shoot at the rebelling prisoners, whose sole demand was communication with the outside world.





Prison activist IMANI (JOHNNY HARRIS), shown at right above, is fighting execution in Alabama,

Many of the prisoners involved were members of Inmates For Action (IFA), an organization which for years had led prisoners in trying to call public attention to the barbarousness of Alabama prison conditions. Their efforts, and the protest in which Harris participated, were implicitly vindicated by Federal Judge Frank M. Johnson, in his 1976 decision holding the Alabama prison system was itself "cruel and unusual punishment."

The notoriety thus obtained by Atmore Prison led residents of the town of Atmore to demand that the prison's name be changed. It is now Fountain Correctional Institute. Atmore-Holman Brothers' supporters

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MINERS DETERMINED TO STAY OUT IN INDUSTRY'S LONGEST STRIKE

Coal Strike Begins To Take Its Toll

(Washington, D.C.) - President Carter last week threatened White House intervention to end the nation's bitter, 11-week-old coal miners' strike.

"The administration," Presidential Press Secretary Jody Powell said, "has embarked on a process which will culminate in one of three options" — invoking the Taft-Hartley Act, which would force miners back to work for 80 days, federal seizure of the mines or binding arbitration.

Carter later consulted with Congressional leaders in an attempt to win Capitol Hill approval which is needed if he choses either or both of the latter two forms of intervention.

Carter is reportedly reluctant to invoke Taft-Hartley as miners have ignored it three times in the



Police escort coal convoy in Indiana.

past. United Mine Workers (UMW) President Arnold Miller warned, "Taft-Hartley won't move much coal but it might cause somebody to get killed."

The UMW bargaining council voted last week to approve a contract with an independent coal company.

The 39-member council voted 26-13 to accept the contract with the Pittsburgh and Midway Company, meaning the pact will be submitted to the company's 700 union employees in Kentucky and Kansas for a final vote. P and M is not a member of the 130-company Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the industry's bargaining arm.

The effects of the strike by the 160,000 miners, who produce over half the country's coal, are spreading daily.

While the coal industry refuses to heed the miners' demands,

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"Universal Negro Improvement Association"

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will make us citizens without rights or subjects without consideration. We mean a kind of government that will place our race in control, even as other races are in control of their own government. . .

In view of the fact that the Black man of Africa has contributed as much to the world as the White man of Europe, and the Brown man and Yellow man of Asia, we of the Universal Negro Improvement Association demand that the Yellow and Brown races give to the Black man his place in the civilization of the world. We ask for nothing more than the rights of 400,000,000 Negroes.

We of the Universal Negro Improvement Association. . .desire to bring together the 15,000,000 of the United States, the 180,000,000 in Asia, the West Indies and Central and South America, and the 200,000,000 in Africa. We are looking toward political freedom on the continent of Africa, the land of our fathers

GOVERNMENT

The Universal Negro Improvement Association is not seeking to build up another government within the bounds or borders of the United States of America. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is not seeking to disrupt any organized system of government, but the Association is determined to bring Negroes together for the building up of a nation of their own.

And why? Because we have been forced to it throughout the world; not only in America, not only in Europe, not only in the British Empire, but wheresoever the Black man happens to find himself, he has been forced to do for himself.

To talk about government is a little more than some of our people can appreciate. . .The average. . .seems to say, "Why should there be need for any other government?" We are French, English or American. But we of the UNIA have studied seriously this question of nationality among Negroes — this American nationality, this British nationality, this French, Italian or Spanish nationality, and have discovered that it counts for nought when that nationality comes in conflict with the racial idealism of the group that rules.

When our interests clash with those of the ruling faction, then we find that we have absolutely no rights.

The difference between the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the other movements of this country, and probably the world, is that the Universal Negro Improvement Association seeks independence of government, while the other organizations seek to make the Negro a secondary part of existing governments. We differ from the organizations in America because they seek to subordinate the Negro as a secondary consideration in a great civilization, knowing that in America the Negro will never reach his highest ambition, knowing that the Negro in America will never get his Constitutional rights. . .

100 YEARS

You and I can live in the United States of America for 100 years, and our generations may live for 200 years or for 5,000 more years, and so long as there is a Black and White population, when the majority is on the side of the White race, you and I will never get political justice or get political equality in this country. . .

We are not preaching a propaganda of hate against anybody. We love the White man; we love all humanity. . .The White man is as necessary to the existence of the Negro as the Negro is necessary to his existence. There is a common relationship that we cannot escape. Africa has certain things that Europe wants, and Europe has certain things that Africa wants. . .it is impossible for us to escape it. Africa has oil, diamonds, copper, gold, rubber and all the minerals that Europe wants, and there must be some kind of relationship between Africa and Europe for a fair exchange, so we cannot afford to hate anybody.

The question often asked is what does it require to redeem a race and free a country? If it takes man power, if it takes scientific intelligence, if it takes education of any kind, or if it takes blood, then the 400,000,000 Negroes of the world have it.

It took the combined power of the Allies to put down the mad determination of the Kaiser to impose German will upon the world and upon humanity. Among those who suppressed his mad ambition were two million Negroes who have not yet forgotten how to drive men across the firing line.

. . .When so many White men refused to answer to the call and dodged behind all kinds of excuses, 400,000 Black men were ready without a question. It was because we were told it was a war of democracy; it was a war for the liberation of the weaker peoples of the world. We heard the cry of Woodrow Wilson, not because we liked him so, but because the things he said were of such a nature that they appealed to us as men. Wheresoever the cause of humanity stands in need of assistance, there you will find the Negro ever ready to serve.

He has done it from the time of Christ up to now. When the whole world turned its back upon the Christ, the man who was said to be Son of God, when the world spurned Him and spat upon Him, it was a Black man, Simon, the Cyrenian, who took up the cross. Why? Because the course of humanity appealed to him.

We have not forgotten the prowess of war. If we have been liberal minded enought to give our life's blood in France, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, fighting for the White man, whom we have always assisted, surely we have not forgotten to fight for ourselves, and when the time comes that the world will again give Africa an opportunity for freedom, surely. . Black men



MARCUS GARVEY: "The Universal Negro Improvement Association is not seeking to build up another government within the bounds or borders of the United States of America. The Universal Negro Improvement Association is not seeking to disrupt any organized system of government, but the Association is determined to bring Negroes together for the building up of a nation of their own."

will march out on the battle plains of Africa, under the colors of the red, the black and the green.

We shall march out, yes, as Black American citizens, as Black British subjects, as Black French citizens, as Black Italians or as Black Spaniards, but we shall march out in answer to the cry of our fathers, who cry out to us for the redemption of our own country, our motherland, Africa. . . .□

Garvey Frame In Hoover Memo

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

tentiary in February, 1925, following an unsuccessful appeal of his conviction, immigration authorities lodged a warrant of deportation with the warden.

Less than a year later, in January, 1926, the British consul in Atlanta reported that a local immigration officer had informed him that the Department of Justice "is now considering the question of commuting Garvey's sentence of imprisonment into a sentence of deportation." The immigration officer applied for a passport for Garvey.

On November 18, 1927, then President Calvin Coolidge commuted the sentence of Marcus Garvey to expire at once. Although the commutation did not contain a word about deportation, immigration officials insisted that it had been made only on condition of immediate deportation. Conviction of fraud automatically had made Garvey an "undesirable alien." The officials put Garvey aboard a ship bound for the West Indies.

Summing up the government conspiracy against Garvey, the leading journal, *Science and Society* comments:

"The evidence indicates that the deportation of Marcus Garvey cannot be considered simply as the outcome of his conviction for fraud. On the contrary, his conviction for fraud must be considered as the outcome of the intention of government officials to effect his deportation. Likewise it is evident that the Justice Department initiated efforts to convict Garvey for fraud not because of any wrongdoing on his part, but because of his radical ideology."□

REVOLUTIONARY SUICIDE

By Huey P. Newton

"The Defection Of Eldridge Clever"

In this excerpt from the chapter "The Defection of Eldridge and Reactionary Suicide" from Revolutionary Suicide by Black Panther Party founder and chief theoretician Huey P, Newton, Huey explains how turncoat Eldridge Cleaver had nearly led the Party into destruction by causing its isolation from the community.

The Party was born in a particular time and place. It came into being with a call for self-defense against the police who patrolled our communities and brutalized us with impunity. Until then, there had been little resistance to the occupiers.

We sought to provide a counterforce, a positive image of strong and unafraid Black men in the community. The emphasis on weapons was a necessary phase in our evolution, based on Frantz Fanon's contention that the people have to be shown that the colonizers and their agents—the police—are not bulletproof. We saw this action as a bold step in making our program known and raising the consciousness of the people.

But we soon discovered that weapons and uniforms set us apart from the community. We were looked upon as an ad hoc military group, acting outside the community fabric and too radical to be a part of it. Perhaps some of our tactics at the time were extreme; perhaps we placed too much emphasis on military action. We saw ourselves as the revolutionary "vanguard" and did not fully understand then that only the people can create the revolution.

At any rate, for two or three years, our image in the community was intimidating. The people misunderstood us and did not follow our lead in picking up the gun. At the time, there was no clear solution to this dilemma. We were a young revolutionary group seeking answers and ways to alleviate racism. We had chosen to confront an evil head on and within the limits of the law. But perhaps our military strategy was too much of "a great leap forward."

Nonetheless, I believe that the Black Panther approach in 1966 and 1967 was basically a good and necessary phase. Our military actions called attention to our program and our plans for the people. Our strategy brought us dedicated members, and it gained the respect of the struggling peoples of the Third World.

Most important, it raised the consciousness of Black and White citizens about the relationship between police and minorities in this country. It is difficult to realize now how much police relations with the Black community have changed in six short years. Our communities are still not free from brutal incidents and corruption, but it is nonetheless true that police departments have become more sensitive to the problems of urban minorities.

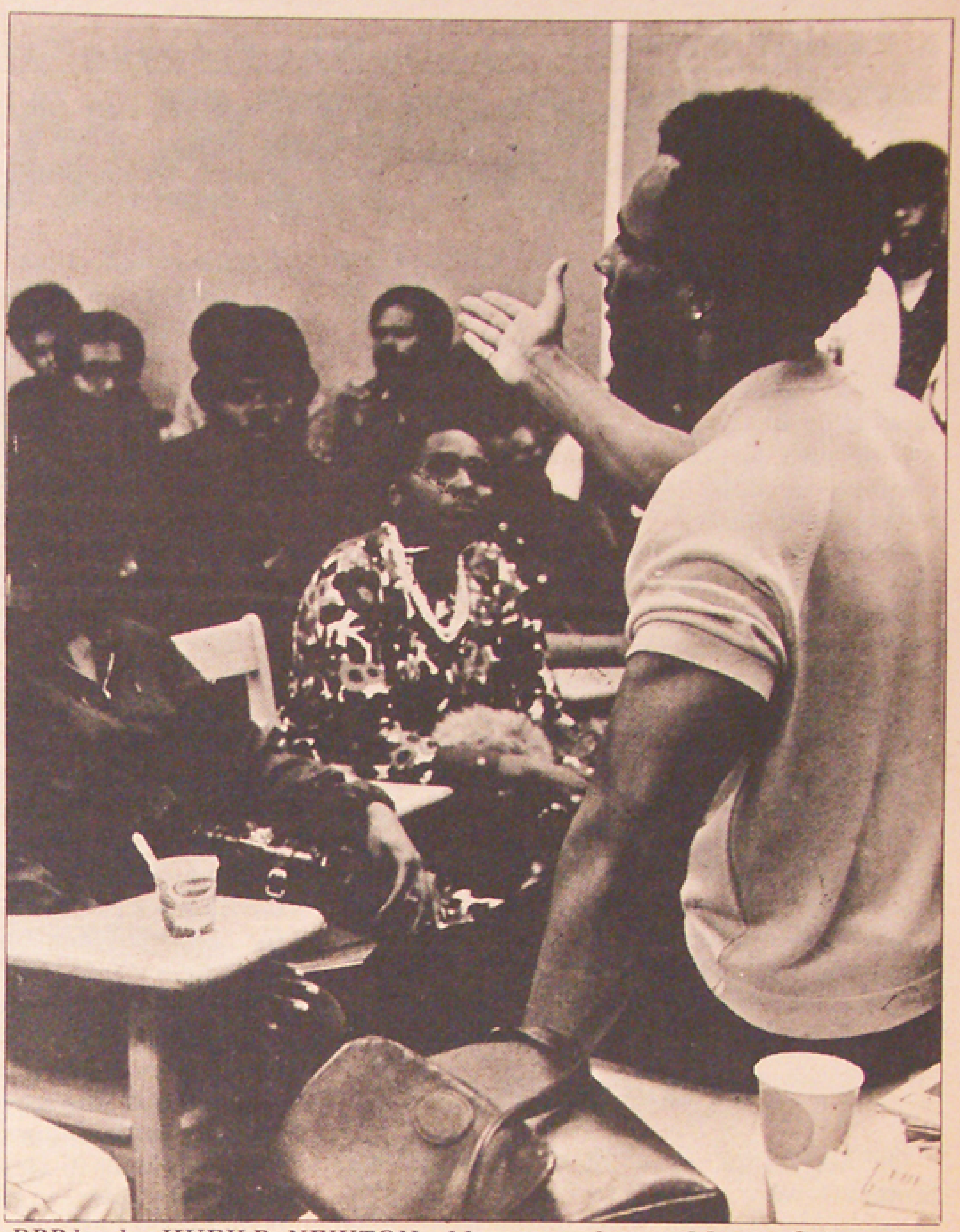
Today, it is the rare police commissioner who has not tried to establish some form of public relations between police and Blacks. The average citizen, too, has a greater awareness of police abuses that once were systematically overlooked. This advance in consciousness is due in large part to our military phase.

Ho Chi Minh said that military tactics made public for military reasons are unsound, while military tactics made public for political reasons are perfectly correct. We have done as he said. Our military strategies are now known for political reasons.

But revolution is not an action, it is a process. Times change, and policies of the past are not necessarily effective in the present. Our military strategies were not frozen. As conditions changed, so did our tactics. Patrolling the community was only one step in our ten-point program and had never been regarded as the sole community endeavor of the Black Panther Party.

As a matter of fact, the right to bear arms for protection appeared near the end of our program, as Point 7, and came only after those demands we considered far more urgent—freedom, employment, education, and housing. Our community programs—now called survival programs—were of great importance from the beginning; we had always planned to become involved in Black people's daily struggle for survival and sought only the means to serve the community's needs.

But the Party was sabotaged from within and without. For years the establishment media presented a sensational picture of



BPP leader HUEY P. NEWTON addresses a class at Merritt College in 1971.

us, emphasizing violence and weapons. Colossal events like Sacramento, the *Ramparts* confrontation with the police, the shoot-out of April 6, 1968, were distorted and their significance never understood or analyzed. Furthermore, our ten-point program was ignored and our plans for survival overlooked. The Black Panthers were identified with the gun.

Eldridge Cleaver identified with other negative aspects of the Party. It is not a coincidence that he joined the Party only after the *Ramparts* confrontation. What appealed to him were force, firepower, and the intense moment when combatants stood at the brink of death. *For him this was the revolution.*

Eldridge's ideology was based on the rhetoric of violence; his speeches abounded in either/or absolutes, like "Either pick up the gun or remain a sniveling coward." He would not support the survival programs, refusing to see that they were a necessary part of the revolutionary process, a means of bringing the people closer to the transformation of society.

He believed this transformation could take place only through violence, by picking up the gun and storming the barricades, and his obsessive belief alienated him more and more from the community. By refusing to abandon the position of destruction and despair, he underestimated the enemy and took on the role of the reactionary suicide.

Long before Eldridge's actual defection from the Party he had taken the first steps of his journey into spiritual exile by failing to identify with the people. He shunned the political intimacy that human beings demand of their leaders. When he fled the country, his exile became a physical reality.

Eldridge had cut himself off from the revolutionary's greatest source of strength — unity with the people, a shared sense of purpose and ideals. His flight was a suicidal gesture, and his continuing exile in Algeria is a symbol of his defection from the community on all levels — geographical, psychological, and spiritual.

From a dialectical point of view, something positive has arisen out of Eldridge's defection. While he and his followers still identify with aspects of the Party that once alienated us from the community, the Party has moved in a different direction. He has taken the media's image squarely upon his own shoulders. We are glad to be free of the burden.

TO BE CONTINUED

A Report On F.B.I. Agents Who Provoke Criminal Acts

THE SPIES AMONG US—AGENTS PROVOCATEURS

The following information is excerpted and edited from a pamphlet produced by the Church of Scientology.

INTRODUCTION

The "agent provocateur" is hardly an innovation of the 20th century, although the use of such tactics by American agencies is certainly a new revelation to an already beleaguered public.

Informers of different types and loyalties have existed throughout history and, while considered distasteful by even law enforcement officials, the informer has gained an acceptable position in the courts of law.

The "agent provocateur" is an informer of a special breed. His task is not merely to infiltrate an organization for the purpose of gaining information or, if already a member, to turn his loyalties 180 degrees. The agent provocateur's task is to bring an organization and/or its members by whatever means, into direct confrontation with the law thus allowing arrests to be made and "justice" to take its course. For many, however, it is a thin line between "entrapment" and "provocation."

THE CAMDEN CASE

On August 22, 1971, 28 anti-Vietnam War protestors were arrested by the FBI during the break-in of a Camden, New Jersey, draft office. Described by a Philadelphia newspaper as "decent and honorable men and women," the 28 were members of the "Catholic Resistance" and were destroying draft files, while FBI agents, accompanied by the media, including television cameras, swept in to make the arrests.

The defendants, four of whom were Catholic priests, did not deny the charges, and Rev. Peter D. Fordi admitted his guilt stating, "I ripped up those files with my hands." But, as the matter came to trial, a sudden and startling turn of events focused the nation's attention on the "agent provocateur."

Robert W. Hardy, a Camden contractor, admitted in an affidavit filed on March 15, 1972, that he had been in the employ of the FBI as an agent provocateur and that the raid could not have taken place without his direction and energy. The affidavit was filed in support of a pre-trial motion to dismiss charges against 20 of the defendants for breaking and entering federal property and stealing and destroying federal records and against the remaining eight for conspiring and abetting the crimes.

Hardy, who stated he had been paid about $60 per day plus expenses for his work, stated that the original plot had been abandoned by the group, but with FBI insistence, he had revitalized the scheme. With FBI monies, he "provided 90 per cent of the tools necessary" for the break-in. "They couldn't afford them," he stated, "so I paid and the FBI reimbursed me. It included hammers, ropes, drills, bits, etc. They couldn't use some of the tools without hurting themselves, so I taught them." Hardy also gave the group floor plans of the targeted building and office space to carry out the planning.

The FBI had originally told him that the arrests would take place before any break-in, Hardy stated, thus limiting the charges to conspiracy, but the plan was changed. According to Hardy, the FBI told him that "the higher ups, someone at the Little White House in California, they said, which I took to mean someone high in the FBI or Justice Department then in California, wanted it to actually happen."

On May 17, 1973, Judge Clarkson S. Fisher instructed the jury that although the defendants admitted to breaking into the offices and destroying the records, they were not required to consider the "predisposition of any defendant", i.e., if they were disposed to commit the crime. If the jury found that the actions of the FBI were "so fundamentally unfair as to be offensive to the basic standards of decency and shocking to the universal sense of justice," they were free to acquit.

The jury did just that, and on May 20, 1973, the Camden break-in blew back into the face of the Justice Department and the FBI. The protesters were acquitted.

The Camden case brought fully into view the use of agents provocateurs to foment violence. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of May 22, 1973, charged that the government was "ready to use any tactics, however illegal, to suppress people whom it sees as political enemies" which was "more in keeping with a totalitarian dictatorship than with a democratic government standing for equal justice under law." The *Post* noted:

"The profoundly disturbing aspect of the Camden prosecution is that it seems to fall into a pattern of government attempts to purge anti-war critics by inducing them and aiding them to engage in what turn out to be government-sponsored protests. Evidence of the similar use of FBI agents provocateurs came out in the trial of the 'Harrisburg 7' for conspiring to destroy draft files and in the still pending case of a group of Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) charged last year in Florida with a plot to disrupt the Republican Convention."

THE VVAW CASE

On July 14, 1972, six members of the VVAW were indicted in Tallahassee, Florida, on charges of conspiring to disrupt the Republican National Convention in Miami Beach the previous August with bombings and shootings. The next day, VVAW leaders charged that the grand jury indictments had stemmed from false reports from an agent provocateur working for the FBI, William Lemmer. They stated they had tape recordings where Lemmer made the admission.

Amidst charges of illegal wiretapping, Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas intervened to order their release after they had been jailed for contempt for refusing to testify before the grand jury when they had been granted immunity.

The trial opened in Gainsville, Florida, August 3, 1973, with the prosecution charging the VVAW was a well-organized group of radicals plotting riots and bombings with everything from bombs and automatic weapons to crossbows and slingshots. The defense countered that the government was actually the one which had developed the conspiracy through the use of agents provocateurs.



Police agents who infiltrated the Black Panther Party (left to right) GEORGE SAMS, MELVIN "Cotten" SMITH, WILLIAM O'NEAL MAURICE "Mojo" POWELL, and LOUIS TACKWOOD. The role of the agent-provocateur is to bring an organization into direct confrontation with the law, thereby allowing arrests to be made.

Despite U.S. District Judge Winston E. Arnow's insistence that "the government is not on trial here," the defense managed to introduce the fact that one of the government's informers was actually on the payroll of the Committee to Re-Elect the President.

The prosecution relied upon the testimony of William Lemmer who detailed various meetings with VVAW officials. Lemmer admitted that he had worked for years as an FBI informer and provocateur and had been involved in a firebombing at the University of Arkansas as well as a marijuana "harvest" in Kansas.

MOVING TO THE RIGHT

Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr. joined the Klu Klux Klan at the request of the FBI and participated in civil rights violence under FBI supervision from 1959 to 1961. Rowe, whose code name was "Karl Cross", admitted that with FBI help he planned a "reception" for Alabama Freedom Riders in 1961 "they would never forget." According to a Birmingham police officer, with whom Rowe worked, "We don't care if you kill 'em, burn 'em, bomb 'em out. We don't give a damn."

Rowe took his story to a Senate Committee because the FBI had reportedly failed to give him a lifetime government job promised him for his work. Rowe detailed his work in the Klan and how he was to spread rumors about "who was sleeping with whom" and to have sexual relations with as many of the Klansmen's wives as possible.

No charges were brought against Rowe by the FBI.

BOMBINGS

A young, Black Vietnam War veteran, Larry Ward, back in the U.S. only two weeks, was shot down and killed by two policemen who had been warned that Ward would be attempting to plant explosives as a plot to blow up a construction site at the University of Washington.

Ward's death brought forward two disillusioned FBI agents provocateurs, David Sannes and Jeffrey Desmond.

Desmond submitted affidavits in which he detailed his recruitment as an FBI bomber. Desmond admitted setting bombs and recruiting others to watch him build the explosives. Desmond would then turn his unsuspecting participants in to the FBI. "My instructions were general," Desmond said, "to find people interested in bombing. These were people that I sought out for the FBI."

Sannes, disillusioned with his role, went to the press with his story.

FROM HOOVER WITH LOVE

Rather than being a few scattered incidents, the use of provocateurs by the FBI has been seen as a matter of policy and not the exception. In some cases the agent provoked others into crime. In other cases, the agent simply broke the law for the FBI. And in some, they simply provided the opportunity for the violence to occur:

•Timothy Redfearn testified that to earn his $400 a month pay from the FBI as an informer, he had to burglarize twice the Socialist Workers Party offices in Denver, turning the stolen documents over to his "handler".

•William O'Neal was able to report to his FBI "contacting agent" that his new position as bodyguard to Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton was assured. O'Neal turned over detailed floor plans of Hampton's Chicago apartment and shortly afterwards, on December 4, 1969, police staged a pre-dawn raid resulting in the death of Hampton and a companion.

•Charles Grimm became an agent provocateur for the FBI in April, 1970. His task was to infiltrate the student movement in Alabama and provoke violence. It did not take Grimm long, when during May, 1970, he threw three Molotov cocktails at an apartment building near the campus, set fire to an abandoned house and burned a University facility plus a private residence.

•Douglas Durham, who was making $900 a month from the FBI for his work, worked his way into the American Indian Movement to such a point that his income was raised $200 by pleased officials. He fed the FBI sensitive and confidential information on AIM legal strategy and helped lead an armed takeover of a state office building in Iowa.

•On June 30, 1968, two FBI informers lured two Mississipians into a bombing attempt in the city of Meridian with a bribe of $38,500.

F.B.I.'s PRIDE IN VIOLENCE

The liberal or left-wing is not the only target of agitation via agents provocateurs. A disbanded Minutemen organization was revitalized in 1967 by Howard Berry Godrey who converted the group into the "Secret Army Organization" (SAO), all under the direction of the FBI in San Diego.

Godfrey, who was paid $250 a month plus expenses, used FBI resources to furnish firearms, explosives and other equipment during a period of violence from 1967 to 1972.

Godfrey was finally apprehended during a bombing of a movie theatre in June, 1972, but he averted prosecution and moved to Utah where he reports, "The FBI is taking good care of us."

A staff report of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reported on May 8, 1973, that the San Diego FBI office "pointed with pride" to their own role in a wave of Southern California violence that had resulted in four deaths [all members of the Black Panther Party]:

"Shootings, beatings and a high degree of unrest continue in the ghetto area of southeast San Diego. Although no specific counterintelligence action can be credited with contributing to this overall situation, it is felt that a substantial amount of the unrest is directly attributable to this program."

While shielding provocateurs, grand juries have been used to effect the next stage of harassment — indictments. The *Boston Globe* was able to note in 1973 the discrepancy between indictments and convictions:

"Grand juries have continued to be led by Justice Department attorneys into indicting dissenters for their 'high crimes.' But petit juries have acquitted or courts have dismissed in nearly all cases since the conviction of the so-called Harrisburg Seven for destroying draft records in 1967. . .

Since that guilty verdict, the administration has been defeated in its fantastic effort to convict the Berrigans and others of "plotting" to kidnap Henry Kissinger and blow up heating mains under government buildings. All five defendants in the Spock 'conspiracy' have been acquitted in New York, the Soledad Brothers were acquitted in California, Black Panther chairman, Bobby Seale, has been acquitted in New Haven, and nine other BPP conspirators were freed in New Bedford."

But perhaps, the damage had already been done. The allegations and charges flew through the media, and the public was privy to wild allegations and violence. Yet, in a court of law, the government lost on all counts.

THE SCIENTOLOGY RAID

On July 8, 1977, FBI agents, accompanied by a cordon of U.S. attorneys, staged the largest single coordinated raid in the history of the Bureau. Nearly 200 agents (only 40 were used at Wounded Knee) struck at Church of Scientology offices in Los Angeles and Washington, D.C. For the next 20 hours, FBI agents roamed through church offices and dormitory spaces smashing in doors and filing cabinets with battering rams, power saws and crowbars. In the words of conservative national colunist, James Kilpatrick, "It was gangbusters all over again."

Besides being armed with a veritable array of wrecking equipment, the agents also carried warrants specifying about 150 documents allegedly "stolen" from government files. But, when they left nearly 24 hours later, over 100,000 pages of church records had been carted away from the Los Angeles church alone. Included were confidential attorney-client correspondence on legal strategies against the FBI and Justice Department.

Two weeks after the raid, a Federal District Court in Washington, D.C. ruled the raid in that city was illegal and un-Constitutional and ordered the FBI to return the material seized.

CONCLUSION

FBI reliance on the agent provocateur as a matter of policy continues to come to view. The pattern is indelibly there.

We should recall the example of the Nazi law-and-order advocates, who fomented violence and behaved lawlessly while promising to restore Germany. We have not reached that point in the United States, but sometimes it seems not so far away. □

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY PROGRAM

MARCH 29, 1972 PLATFORM

WHAT WE WANT, WHAT WE BELIEVE

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALIST OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventative medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide ourselves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against Black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self-defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desires of the U.S. ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the U.S. government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars that it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U.S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in U.S. prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the U.S. military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial that they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trials.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, when ever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

FRONTLINE STATES CONDEMN SMITH'S "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT"

PATRIOTIC FRONT—"THE WAR IN ZIMBABWE CONTINUES"



Undaunted by Ian Smith's phoney "internal" settlement, liberation forces in Rhodesia are continuing the armed struggle.

(London, England) - The Patriotic Front and the five frontline states in southern Africa last week denounced the "internal" Rhodesian settlement reached by "Prime Minister" Ian Smith and Black sellout "leaders" Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremy Chirau.

Joshua Nkomo, who, with Robert Mugabe, serves as coleader of the Front, said in Lusaka, Zambia, that the Salisbury agreement "changes nothing. It will not work. The war continues. We know who the enemies are."

Radio Mozambique charged that the settlement was reached between the "leader of an illegal regime and Black puppets." Zambian Foreign Minister Siteke Mwale said, "Smith is playing games, trying to hoodwink the world."

Mozambique and Zambia, along with Angola, Tanzania and Botswana, are the frontline states that have been providing the Patriotic Front with arms and other aid in the armed liberation struggle against the Smith regime.

U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Andrew Young warned that the pact's failure to include the Patriotic Front, which enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of Zimbabweans (Black Rhodesians), will cause a "Black on Black civil war."

He referred specifically to the situation in Angola in 1975 when the government of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) fought against the CIA-instigated Black reactionary forces of the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the South African-backed troops of the Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

The Black U.N. ambassador said that the Salisbury settlement was not a settlement, adding, "It does not address the issues that have some 40,000 people fighting."

The terms, announced jointly by Smith and turncoats Muzorewa, Chirau and Dr. Elliott Gabellah, representing Sithole, at a joint press conference on Wednesday, February 15, provide for:

- "One man, one vote" elections with all citizens over 18 years old eligible to vote;
- A 100-member National Assembly, with 72 seats reserved for Blacks and 28 for Whites. The White seats would be retained for 10 years or the life of two parliaments;
- A bill of rights;
- Independence of the judiciary;
- An independent Public Services Board with members given tenure of office;
- Political independence of the public services, the police, defense forces and prison services;
- Guarantees of pensions and the right for them to be payable abroad; and

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STRIKE SINCE DEC. 26

Puerto Rican Public Workers Battle Stall And Redbaiting Tactics

(New York, N.Y.) - Some 6,200 workers at Puerto Rico's government-owned utility company have been out on strike since December 26 in what could be a crucial test of the right of public employees in Puerto Rico to unionize and strike.

The workers, all members of the Union of Electrical and Irrigation Workers (UTIER) — one of the most powerful and progressive unions in Puerto Rico — are asking for an hourly wage increase of $1.40, down from an initial demand of $1.69. But their government employer, the Water Resources Administration (WRA), has refused to budge from what it now says is its "final" offer of an added 30 cents an hour, *Liberation News Service* reports.

The strike comes in an atmosphere of escalating labor tension on the island. This past September, Alan Randall, a lawyer responsible for organizing various anti-labor attacks, was assassinated. Shortly thereafter came the murder of a progressive Teamster shop steward and pro-independence activist, Juan Rafael Caballero, which his union leadership as well as many others, claim was carried out by a police death squad.

At the same time, the Puerto Rican economy is showing signs of severe strain. Low wages and

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22

TERRITORY'S ONLY DEEP WATER PORT

SOUTH AFRICA DETERMINED TO CONTROL WALVIS BAY, NAMIBIA

(Walvis Bay, South Africa) - When people reach for an analogy, they compare this tiny enclave on the Atlantic coast of South-West Africa to Hong Kong. Residents concede that little stirs here except in the harbor, which is the only major port on a 1,400-mile stretch of Africa's Atlantic coast.

Although its detractors call it dreary, those caught up in the struggle over its future consider the community of 25,000 people anything but a bore.

The enclave's status has become a major issue since South Africa, preparing to end its rule of Namibia, announced last year that it had no intention of relinquishing control of the territory's only deep-water port.

The South African stand gave currency to the comparisons with Hong Kong. Unless the South African government has an unexpected change of mind, Walvis Bay will become a foreign outpost on the territory of an independent country, handling much of that country's trade, much like Britain's colony on the coast of China.

The South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), the nationalist group waging a guerrilla war against a South African army in the territory, has denounced South Africa's plans for the 430-square-mile enclave as illegal.

South African officials have stood firm, saying only that they are prepared to discuss the issue with the eventual government of Namibia, as the territory is to be known.



Contract labor dock workers at Namibia's Walvis Bay. South Africa has illegally annexed the country's only deep water port to maintain control of Namibia's trade.



South Africa bases its stand on a peculiarity of history. After 1920, when South Africa was granted a mandate over South-West Africa by the League of Nations, the port and the surrounding area were administered as part of the territory.

The juridical link with the rest of the vast semidesert region lasted until five months ago, when a South African proclamation returned the enclave to Cape Province, with the provision that it would continue to be governed for the time being from Windhoek, the territorial capital.

Privately, senior South African officials have hinted that they may agree to surrender the port to Namibia if the government of the new country proves friendly toward South Africa, which will continue to have major interests in the territory.

This raises the possibility that the enclave could become a bargaining chip with SWAPO, which is pledged to widespread nationalization of foreign interests if they take power.

Meanwhile, a South African Supreme Court justice, Marthinus T. Steyn, is on temporary assignment in Windhoek as the U.N.-approved administrator to prepare Namibians for independence. He has authority to nullify any South African-imposed laws he decides are harmful to the Black majority of the vast land.

The years of apartheid have CONTINUED ON PAGE 24

Africa In Focus

Mozambique

(Maputo, Mozambique) - The names of the persons who collaborated with the Portuguese secret police PIDE to murder FRELIMO founder Eduardo Mondlane nine years ago will soon be revealed by the Mozambican government. President Samora Machel made the announcement on February 3, at a Heroes Day rally outside the city. Mondlane, the first president of FRELIMO, was assassinated on February 3, 1969, by a bomb mailed to him in the form of a book parcel at his home in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. President Machel charged that PIDE carried out Mondlane's murder "through someone within FRELIMO having sold out." He did not elaborate on where the conspirators were and what would happen to them.

South Africa

(Philadelphia, Pa.) - Murdered Black South African leader Steve Biko has been nominated by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) to receive the 1978 Nobel Peace Prize. In a statement issued on February 15, AFSC Executive Secretary Louis W. Schneider said, in part: "To recognize Steve Biko for his work is to acknowledge the love and esteem in which he was held as a gentle, yet forceful, leader. But it may also serve to acknowledge the labors and lives of Biko's colleagues, and the tens of thousands of South Africans whom he inspired. . .Steve Biko was a leader who spoke and lived for the liberation of all South Africans. . ." As a 1947 co-recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, the AFSC is entitled to make a nomination each year.

Israel

(Jerusalem, Israel) - Israeli Finance Minister Simcha Ehrlich recently made an official tour of South Africa, the first by an Israeli cabinet member to the White apartheid regime. Spokespersons for the Israeli government described the visit as an attempt to overcome a trade situation in which Israel is importing more from the South Africans than it is selling to them. The visit coincides with increasing press reports of large sales of Israeli military equipment to the South African government.

"BANTU" EDUCATION EQUALS WHITE DOMINATION

SOWETO SCHOOLS REOPEN–BOYCOTT GOES STRONG

(Soweto, South Africa) - Soweto schools have reopened uneasily after an 18-month boycott with few signs that the massive opposition to the government's education policy has ended. And there is little evidence that the government plans to change the "Bantu" — the official South African name for "Black" — education policy to relieve the frustration and anger it produces among Blacks.

The boycott, which has virtually closed Soweto schools since 1976, continues despite a government crackdown on October 19 against Black leadership. The Soweto Students League, successor to the banned Students Representative Council, has been urging youth to stay away from classrooms. When secondary schools reopened Wednesday, attendance was sparse.

SUPPORT

Support for the boycott has come from the Soweto Action Committee, another newly-formed organization which has assumed the mantle of informal "township" leadership. The Committee held an organizational meeting two weeks ago to rally residents behind the students and the 497 teachers and principals who have added their voices to the demand for quality education by resigning their posts, *Africa News* reports.

Most Blacks here view Bantu education as the instrument of White domination. As expressed by a high school student who did return to school this week in the "township" of 1.5 million: "The whole system is meant to keep the Black man down and not to allow him to know what goes on in this country."

Philip Frankel, political science instructor at Johannesburg's Witwatersrand University, says that "Bantu education is a fundamental critique of South Africa as a whole. It's a socialization into inferiority."

Under the government system, an average Black child may take science in a class that has no laboratory, taught in a tribal language that hasn't the words to cope with scientific terms. The teacher-pupil ratio in the class may be 1 to 65 and the teacher may not have completed high school.

According to recent statistics, the government spends almost 13 times more on White children than on Blacks — less than $58 for each Black pupil compared with $749 for each White.

White education is free and compulsory. For Blacks, it is neither.

A Black parent must buy school uniforms, averaging $81, textbooks at another $35 to $58, and pay school fees. The amount may seem negligible to an American — to a Soweto gardener or watchman who makes $23 to $58 a month, the cost of schooling his children may be prohibitive.

The economics cause many students to drop out for terms at a time. It is not uncommon to find 15-and 16-year-olds still in grade school, a 23-year-old in high school.



Soweto schoolchildren are continuing to protest the racist Bantu educational system, which "is meant to keep the Black man down and not to allow him to know what goes on in this country."



One of the major issues in the pent-up anger over Bantu education is language. South Africa, with nine languages, needs a common tongue for instruction.

Starting in the beginning grades, subjects must be taught one-third in English, one-third in Afrikaans, and one-third in tribal vernacular. It confuses small children, and cuts study time.

"It's an effort to de-Anglicize

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BLACKS BOYCOTT ELECTIONS FOR COMMUNITY COUNCIL

"We Don't Want Soweto Run By Stooges"

(Soweto, South Africa) - *"We don't want Soweto run for us by stooges."*

That was the overwhelming sentiment here in this huge Black "township" last Saturday as voters stayed away from the polls in droves, effectively boycotting the White minority government-sponsored elections for a Soweto Community Council.

The Vorster government had described the elections as "probably the most crucial ever held in Soweto." But Black rejection of the Council as a White tool was reflected not only in the turnout, but in remarks of passers-by and the fact that races were contested in only two of the 30 voting districts.

Midway through the day, about 100 of the 8,000 eligible voters in two districts had cast ballots.

In one, Orlando East, hundreds of Blacks walked past the polling place under a steady rain, ignoring old women chanting political songs in Zulu.

"The people who know what's happening aren't here," said a young woman. "Only the old people are here."



Soweto polling places were heavily guarded during the bogus elections.

Asked if he planned to vote, one man said, "What for?" Others dismissed the question with laughter. None would give their names to *Associated Press* correspondents.

"Basically, we don't want Soweto run for us by stooges," said a well-dressed man. "All the organizations which were really working for the betterment of Soweto are banned. Why?"

The Community Council elections had been billed as a test of government authority in Soweto, a "township" of 1.5 million Blacks near Johannesburg, in the wake of the bloody summer rebellion of 1976 and the nationwide crackdown last October 19 against foes of apartheid — the government policy of racial separation.

The crackdown swept away virtually every leader of Soweto, including the influential "Committee of 10" led by a moderate

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C.I.A. Ties With U.C.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

the CIA in the summer of 1968.

As vice president for administration, Bolton's duties included supervising the university's Washington, D.C., office and maintaining liaison with headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) with the AEC's field agencies and major AEC labs, and conducting negotiations for the renewal of the three major AEC contracts with the university.

In 1968 Bolton, then third in command of the University of California, also was a captain in the naval reserve. According to his naval records in Washington, he served two weeks of naval reserve training in 1968 at the CIA base on loan from Naval Intelligence Command.

Bolton's university connection with the CIA began in June, 1968, when, as a university administrator plagued with the problem of student dissidence, he wrote a letter to an old friend, Vice Admiral Rufus R. Taylor, then deputy director of the CIA, indicating that he was available for an assignment in the field of intelligence.

Taylor responded June 25, 1968, noting in his letter: "After some discussions here in the agency, we have come to the conclusion that we could keep you interested. . .If you are willing to serve with us."

Taylor, reached by telephone at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, said Bolton, "normally did his two weeks' annual training somewhere in naval intelligence or intelligence activities associated with it. . .we decided because of his knowledge as vice president of the University of California he might be able to make some contribution."

A memo written at the end of Bolton's tour by the agency's coordinator for academic affairs said Bolton met with 14 high-ranking officers of the CIA to discuss student unrest, gave a critique of a CIA paper on worldwide student unrest and met with CIA recruiting and contract officers.

There are also many documents indicating CIA wooing of certain professors, mostly in Chinese and Soviet studies, by inviting them to small seminars run by the agency and by sending them CIA research material.

According to the documents, the agency sponsored 16 seminars on China with academics between 1966 and 1969. □

S.F. Schools Cutbacks

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 9

hearing, or otherwise dispose of the issue.

At the last of 14 public hearings last month on Alioto's plan, parents from the predominantly Black Hunters Point community expressed strong opposition to the plan that would force their children to be bused out of four neighborhood schools.

Several hearings ended in angry confrontations between superintendent Alioto and parents and students.

Parents at Horace Mann Junior High School, located in the Chicano Mission district, physically blocked Alioto from leaving a public hearing until he listened to their criticisms of the plan. □



Chicanos wave anti-school "re-design" plan placards.

World Scope

China

(Peking, China) - In what is believed to be the first authoritative word concerning the fate of the so-called "Gang of Four," led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung's widow Chiang Ching, China's official *Hsinhua* news agency said last week that the four would not be executed. *Hsinhua* quoted Chinese official Han Yu-tang as saying, "according to the party's consistent policy, we will not eliminate them physically. Only certain individuals, guilty of towering crimes and bitterly hated by the people, are executed. . ." The four Chinese radicals were arrested in October, 1976, after Mao's death.

United Nations

(United Nations, N.Y.) - Memoirs of the late U Thant, former U.N. secretary-general, to be published in June suggest that there should be a separate Palestinian state. Thant also wrote that the U.S. missed a chance to negotiate an end to the Vietnam war in 1964, that former President Johnson was "incapable of comprehending" diplomatic trends and that President Kennedy unnecessarily provoked the Cuban missile crisis, which he could have privately negotiated with the Soviet Union. In his *View From the U.N.*, Thant wrote that the Palestine Liberation Organization "should participate in any discussion regarding the formation of a Palestinian Arab state."

Vatican

(Rome, Italy) - A growing number of cardinals are convinced that the socialist movement will ultimately triumph in the West and want the next pope officially to back greater accomodation with emerging socialist countries, a Vatican scholar said last week. Malachi Martin, 56, a former Jesuit priest who has left the priesthood, said a "progressive" faction of cardinals in Europe, Asia and Latin America want the successor to Pope Paul VI to have "a declared policy not to oppose the advent of Communists governments in the West."

"STATEMENTS OF THE MASSES"

TRACING BLACK HISTORY THROUGH SONG



Folklorist BERNICE REAGON (right) has studied the history of the songs of the civil rights movement.

(Washington, D.C.) - Trace the roots of the songs Black people have sung, says cultural historian Bernice Reagon, and you can find a history no old documents will reveal.

Ms. Reagon has tried to find the story of everyday life of Blacks in Black songs and in interviewing oldtimers who sang them.

She calls these songs "statements of the masses."

She is a folklorist for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. She is also a songwriter and the organizer of "Sweet Honey in the Rock," a quartet which takes its name from a spiritual about a land so sweet that honey flows from rocks.

Sometimes, she says, she has had to search no further than her memory of the songs she sang in Mount Early Baptist Church in Albany, Georgia, where her father was pastor.

Ms. Reagon wrote her doctoral dissertation at Howard University on the history of the songs of the civil rights movement — especially "We Shall Overcome," anthem of the movement.

ORIGINATED

It originated in the 19th century, she believes, as "I'll Be All Right," a hymn affirming faith and patience. ("If in my heart, I do not yield, I'll be all right some day.")

She theorizes that it passed from Blacks to Whites — and back again from a White man, folksinger Pete Seeger, to a militant generation of Blacks who had not learned it in church.

In 1961, Ms. Reagon was a student of voice at Albany State College, intending to become an opera singer.

She was jailed two weeks for taking part in civil rights demonstrations in Albany. In overcrowded cells, she says, "We Shall Overcome" unified the prisoners and helped them conquer fear.

"I'd never seen music do that," she says.

She spent a year raising funds — and spirits — as a member of the Original Freedom Singers, then studied at Spelman University in Atlanta and Howard University in Washington, D.C., pioneering in the field of Black oral history.

Working on her doctorate, she found tapes in the Library of Congress recording a song giving a Black perspective on the sequence of events of World War II.

At Pearl Harbor, a Black Navy messhand had manned a gun against Japanese planes until he was killed. General circulation newspapers reported this but did not identify him. The *Pittsburgh Courier*, a Black newspaper, needed six weeks to find that his name was Dorie Miller.

The song tells his story:

"Nineteen hundred and forty-one
"Colored mess boy manned the gun;
"Although he had never been trained;
"Had the nerve and took dead aim.
"He was aiming the Japs to fight,
"Stood at the pole to make things right.
"Six long weeks we didn't hear from him.
"The colored press began to hum.
"Mother and father began to worry.
"It came out in the Pittsburgh Courier.
"Spreading the news all over the place.
"I love Dorie Miller cause he's my race."

Ms. Reagon says a search of copyright records reveal four versions of "We Shall Overcome."

1975

In 1975, she interviewed some old tobacco workers who she believes were the first to sing the song in a social struggle, while on strike against the American Tobacco Co. The White workers in the strike did not sing, but in 1947 some of them participated in a union organizing workshop at the Highlander Folk Center, at Mount Eagle, Tennessee.

The musical director, Zilphia Horton, pleaded to hear their union songs and some of the workers remembered the Blacks' song.

Highlander published it in a union songbook (with the lyrics: "Oh down in my heart, I do believe, we'll overcome some day.")

Folksinger Pete Seeger, visiting the school in 1947, learned it, changed the "will" to "shall," added verses ("the whole wide world around") and tried to teach it to audiences in the North.

Seeger, she says, taught the song to Merle Hersfled, who taught it in 1953 to Frank Hamilton, who taught it to sociologist Guy Carawan, who carried it back to Highlander. By this time, Highlander had become a training school for civil rights workers.

Once, the school was raided by the state police. For 90 minutes students were forced to sit in the dark while troopers searched their luggage. A high school student kept the faith with a new verse, "We are not afraid, we are not afraid today."

Ms. Reagon says that same verse had also evolved during the Charleston strike when a union worker had been killed. The strikers were afraid, she said, so they sang, "We Are Not Afraid."

"That verse always came out when they were most afraid," she says.

TRADITION

"In Black tradition, there are no other verses to 'We Shall Overcome.' The others are supposed to come out from the situation, the creation of the group singing it."

Ms. Reagon says one melody has gone through a number of lives, starting as "Say Brother Will You Meet Us," a Black spiritual from days of slavery.

The same tune became, "John Brown's Body Lies A-moulderin' in the Grave," then "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," then "Solidarity Forever" and finally, "Move On Over Or We'll Move On Over You," a song of Black nationalism with none of the faithful patience of "We Shall Overcome."□

Puerto Rico

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

high unemployment are compounded by high prices, to the degree that three out of every four Puerto Ricans is eligible for food stamps.

The government has only helped highlight the situation by complaining that UTIER workers already rank fairly high on the island pay scale — at a rousing $7,000 a year average. Consumer prices in Puerto Rico are considerably higher than in the U.S. Nevertheless, Puerto Rican Governor Carlos Romero Barcelo declared earlier this year that all wage increases would be limited to 31 cents an hour.



Puerto Rican public workers are testing their right to strike and to form unions.

If UTIER is able to win more than this it could have a strong impact on other important contract negotiations coming up — and could also encourage other government workers to fight for the right to organize and strike.

Under Puerto Rico's 1952 constitution — which established the island-nation as a commonwealth of the U.S. — the only public employees who have the right to unionize are those who work for profit-earning public corporations such as the WRA. (This amounts to about 40,000 of Puerto Rico's 191,000 public employees.)

Even these workers, however, had their rights severely restricted by a 1965 law which gives the Puerto Rican governor the authority to issue an injunction halting a strike for 80 days once he has received a report from a fact-finding committee.

Such injunctions were used twice by former Puerto Rican Governor Rafael Hernandez Colon, in 1973 and 1975. But that didn't help his bid for reelection in 1976. Puerto Rico's present governor, Romero Barcelo, promised in his election campaign to defend the collective bargaining rights of all public employees.

RECONSIDER

Now, however, he is saying that because of the UTIER strike he may have to reconsider his support for public unionization. He has already convened a fact-finding committee on the conflict and received its report so that he is in a position to quickly issue an injunction should he decide to.

For the present, however, it appears he would prefer to end the strike by other means. A major part of the government's strategy has been to attempt to swing support away from the union by means of redbaiting and a massive media campaign.

The government propaganda announced dramatically the well-known fact that UTIER President Luis Lassell belongs to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), insinuating that the socialists are responsible for acts of sabotage which have caused blackouts on parts of the island.

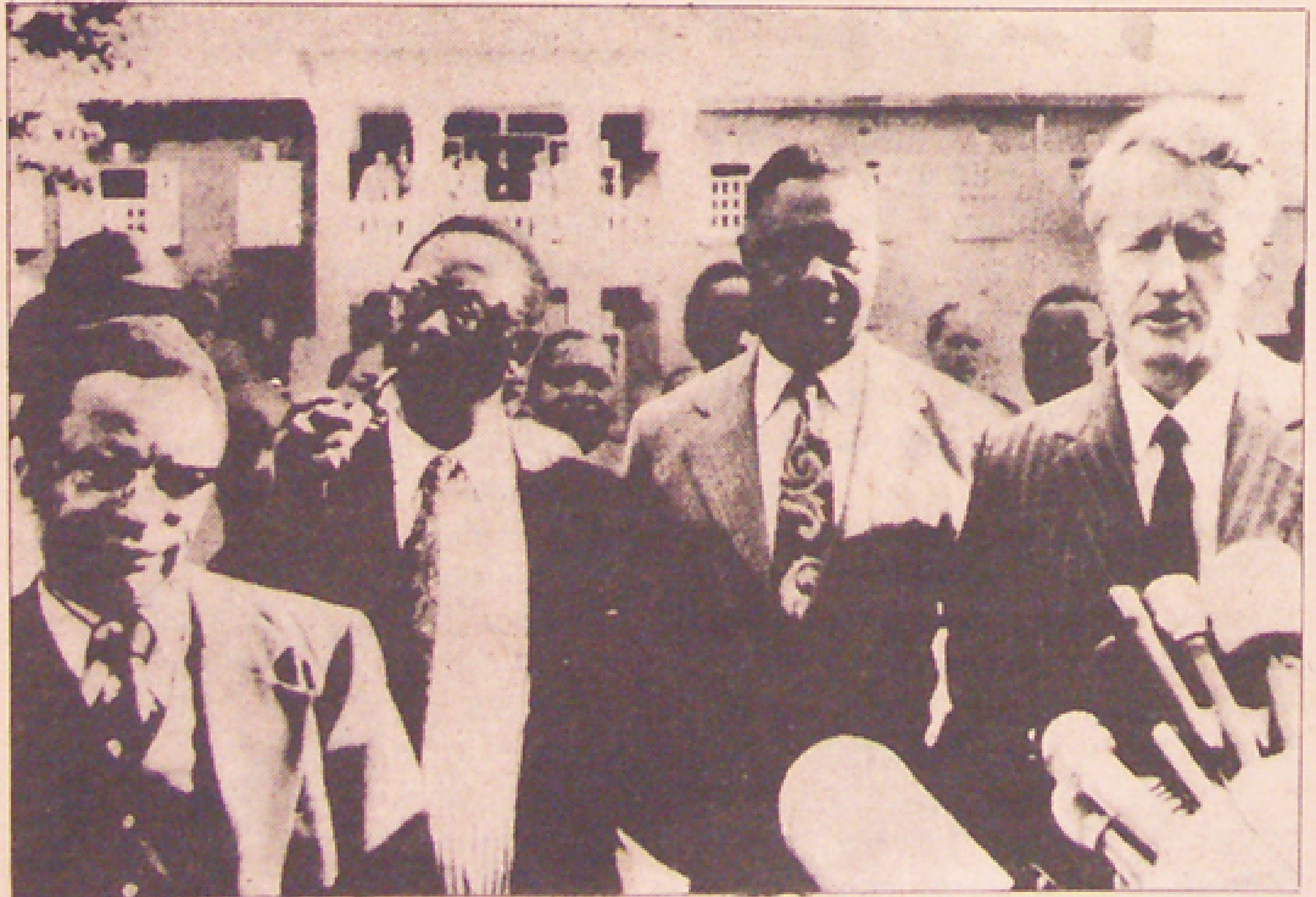
In the face of the recent attacks against the union, 2,000 striking workers demonstrated in Santurce, Puerto Rico, January 21 to show their support for their union leadership and reiterate their determination to stay out on strike.□

"The War In Zimbabwe Continues"

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 17

•The right of persons at present holding citizenship both in Rhodesia and another country (applicable primarily to Whites) to continue to do so.

The mechanics of the National Assembly had held up the bogus Salisbury agreement for three weeks. Muzorewa had objected to Smith's insistence that the 28 White members of the Assembly be elected by Whites only.



Sellout Black Rhodesian leaders (left to right) Bishop ABEL MUZOREWA, Dr. ELLIOT GABELLAH and Chief JEREMY CHIRAU with "Prime Minister" IAN SMITH.

Under the compromise reached, 20 of the Whites will be elected by Whites and the other eight from a common voter roll.

At the press conference, a smugly triumphant Smith claimed, "It's been a victory for moderation. Instead of fighting and killing people, we've shown patience that has helped us to solve our problem toward bringing peace."

When asked if the agreement had been signed or initialed, the White rebel leader said evasively, "What does it matter? We're dealing with men of honor."

The four men alleged that a transitional government would be established "within days," but among the issues still to be resolved are the nature of that government.

Other points that must be worked out include the final form of the majority rule constitution and the dates for the elections

Smith said that he would agree to guerrilla forces joining the existing White-led Rhodesian forces, 80 per cent of whose members are Black.□

INSIDE LATIN AMERICA

Nicaragua

(Mexico City, Mexico) - Captain Anastasio Somoza Portocarrero, son of the Nicaraguan dictator, was the mastermind of the murder of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of *La Prensa* and life-long opponent of the Somoza dynasty, the Mexican newspaper *Excelsior* recently charged. "The main motive for this murder is that Chamorro would have challenged Somoza Portocarrero in the (1981 presidential) elections and been a serious threat. Somoza Portocarrero is in direct control of the family's huge fortune and many businesses," *Excelsior* said. The Democratic Liberation Union, a progressive coalition of poltical parties founded by Chamorro, has also recently charged that President Anastasio Somoza "already has irrefutable evidence of his son's participation in the crime." The Mexican press reports that there are close links between Pena Rivas, the prime suspect in the Chamorro murder conspiracy, and Somoza Portocarrero.

Chile

(Geneva, Switzerland) - A U.N. panel recently condemned the military regime of President Augusto Pinochet for "systematic and institutionalized" torture and continued massive human rights violations. In a report to the U.N. Human Rights Commission, the group said it "is unable to conclude that respect for human rights has been restored in Chile." The panel, which has recommended censure of Chile in previous reports, expressed "deep concern" over the "large number of banishments during the first days of 1978," following a bogus "plebiscite" staged by Pinochet to prop up his embattled regime.

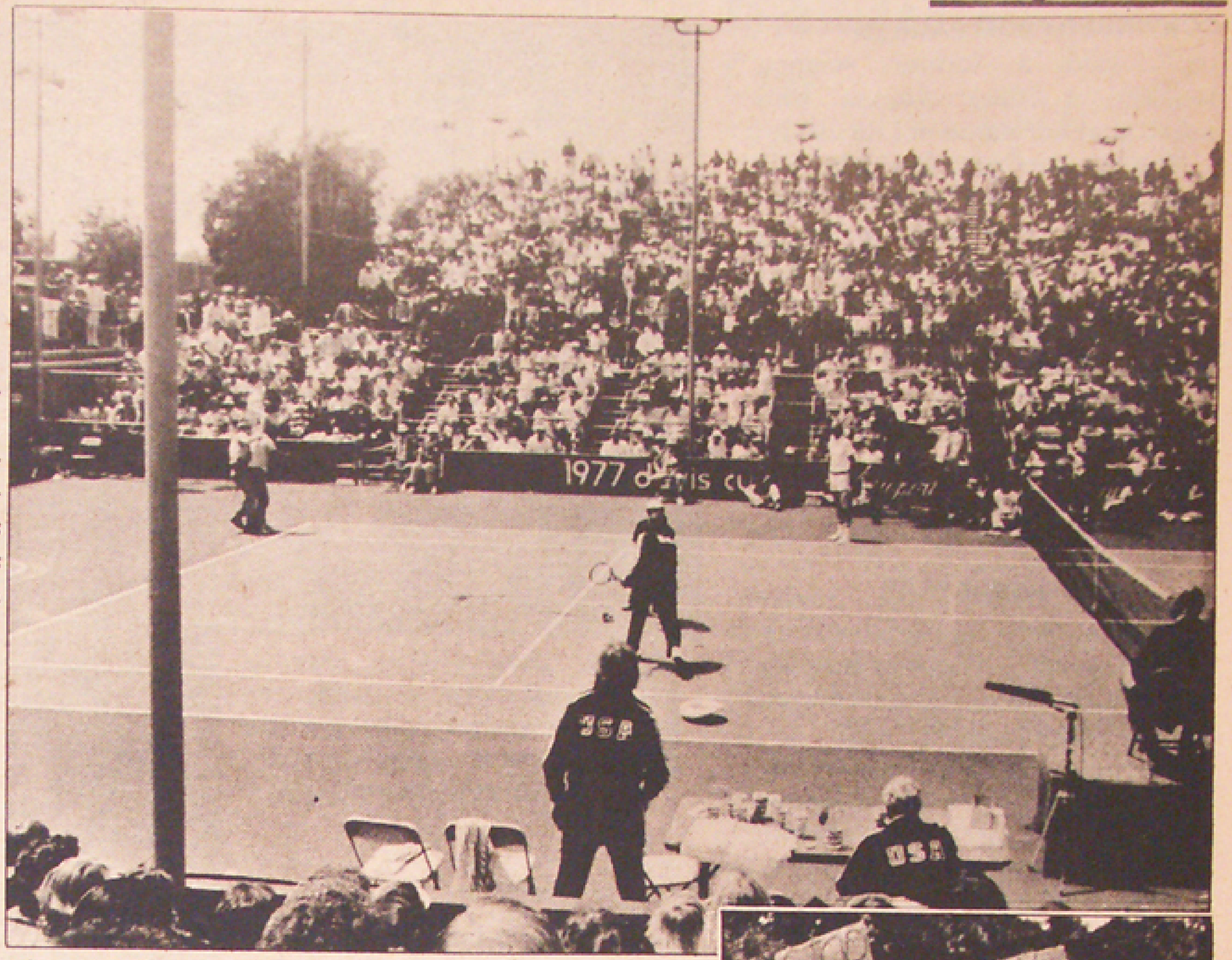
Belize

(London, England) - Belize Prime Minister George Price last month rejected an Anglo-American plan under which Britain would cede nearly 2,000 square miles of Belize, still a British colony, to Guatemala. In return, Guatemala reportedly would renounce further claims on Belize, which it has been threatening to annex.

SPORTS

U.S.T.A. O.K.'s SOUTH AFRICA

APARTHEID FOE BEATEN, "NIGGER" CARVED IN CHEST



Apartheid opponents (below, right) are protesting the U.S. Tennis Association's upcoming Davis Cup matches with South Africa.

(New York, N.Y.) - Bitter critics of apartheid urged the United States Tennis Association last week to cancel next month's Davis Cup matches with South Africa but were told the request would probably not be granted.

That word came at a meeting here last week between leaders of the Coalition for Human Rights in South Africa and the president of the tennis association, W.E. Hester.

Hours earlier, a professor at Virginia Wesleyan College, Richard E. Lapchick, a New Yorker, was beaten and cut by two men in his Norfolk office. The attackers, both of whom wore stocking masks, carved the word "nigger" on his stomach.

"There is no reason to believe that South Africa would not be involved in situations such as beatings like this," said Glouster B. Current, deputy director of the NAACP at the outset of the meeting with Hester. "It certainly is not farfetched."

LAPCHICK

Lapchick, the son of Joe Lapchick, the late basketball coach at St. John's University and for the New York Knickerbockers, is chairman of the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sports and Society (ACCESS), a vocal anti-apartheid group.

From his hospital bed in Virginia Beach, he said that he had spent four days in Nashville, organizing demonstrations and trying to get an audience with Alexander Heard, chancellor of Vanderbilt University. The matches are scheduled to be held there March 17, 18 and 19.

Lapchick said that he was at his office late, catching up on his work as a political science instructor, when two men knocked at his door.

"They knocked me across the room, and I landed on a steel sculpture, which is made out of spikes, so I punctured my left shoulder," he said. "They picked me up and put me in a chair, tied my hands and feet, stuck a glove in my mouth and tied that, too.

"One of them said, 'Are you going to continue what you're doing?' And the other was saying, 'Nigger lover, nigger lover, nigger lover.' "

He said that he was beaten unconscious with a file cabinet drawer, and that when he awoke his attackers were carving on his stomach. They fled when they heard a sound outside.

Bayside Hospital listed Lapchick, 32 years old, as in satisfactory condition, with a hernia and a lacerated kidney.

Meanwhile, at the New York meeting, Hester, the head of the tennis association, said that if the USTA acquiesced on the South Africa question, the same might some day have to be done for opponents of Iran or the Soviet Union, and that "once we get into that situation, the Davis Cup is finished."

By allowing South Africa to play, said Current of the NAACP, "all you are doing is supporting South African intransigence on the racial issue."

Hester said that he did not feel cancellation of the matches would affect the apartheid movement, nor, he said, would playing the matches.

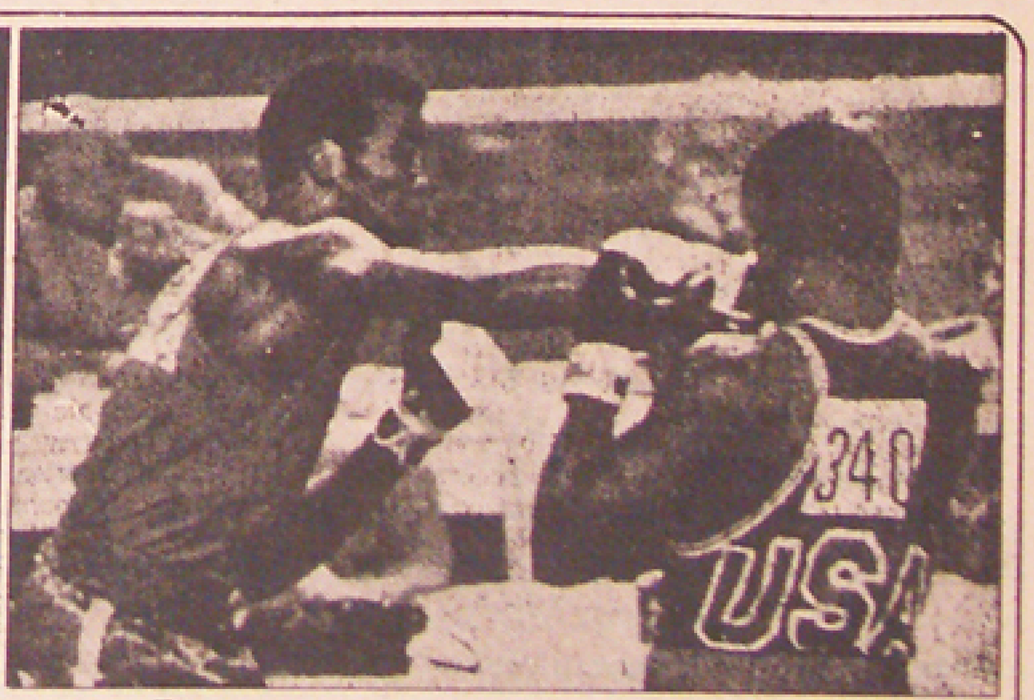
"The United States Tennis Association agrees that the Davis Cup competition has been disrupted by the entry of South Africa, and we have recommended that South Africa withdraw from international competition," he said. "We will support this view at the international meeting in July of 1978."

Hester said that under the policies of the Davis Cup nations, the USTA was bound to play every country legally entered. To withdraw, he said, would be a default that would render the American team ineligible until 1981.□



Cuba Big Winners Over U.S. In Boxing





(Havana, Cuba) - The Cuban national boxing team, led by two-time Olympic heavyweight champion TEOFILO STEVENSON, defeated a team from the United States 8-3 in amateur matches held in Havana February 12.

The Cuban news agency Prensa Latina, reporting the fights, said Cuban President Fidel Castro was among the spectators at Havana's Sports Coliseum. The bouts were televised in the United States.

It was the second boxing meeting between the two nations. Cuba defeated the United States 7-4 in Houston on November 12, 1977.

Stevenson scored a split decision over Jimmy Clark, the National Golden Gloves champion from Coatesville, Pa.

Soweto Schools Reopen-Boycott Goes Strong

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

us,'' said a former science teacher, a Black woman who asked that her name not be used.

The teacher quit her job at a Soweto high school in frustration. ''I was not allowed to teach science in English and had to use native languages instead. It used to take me months to work out a lesson in my head.

''I remember translating one exam into Zulu. The only translation for a question on the freezing point of water was, ''How hot is freezing cold?''

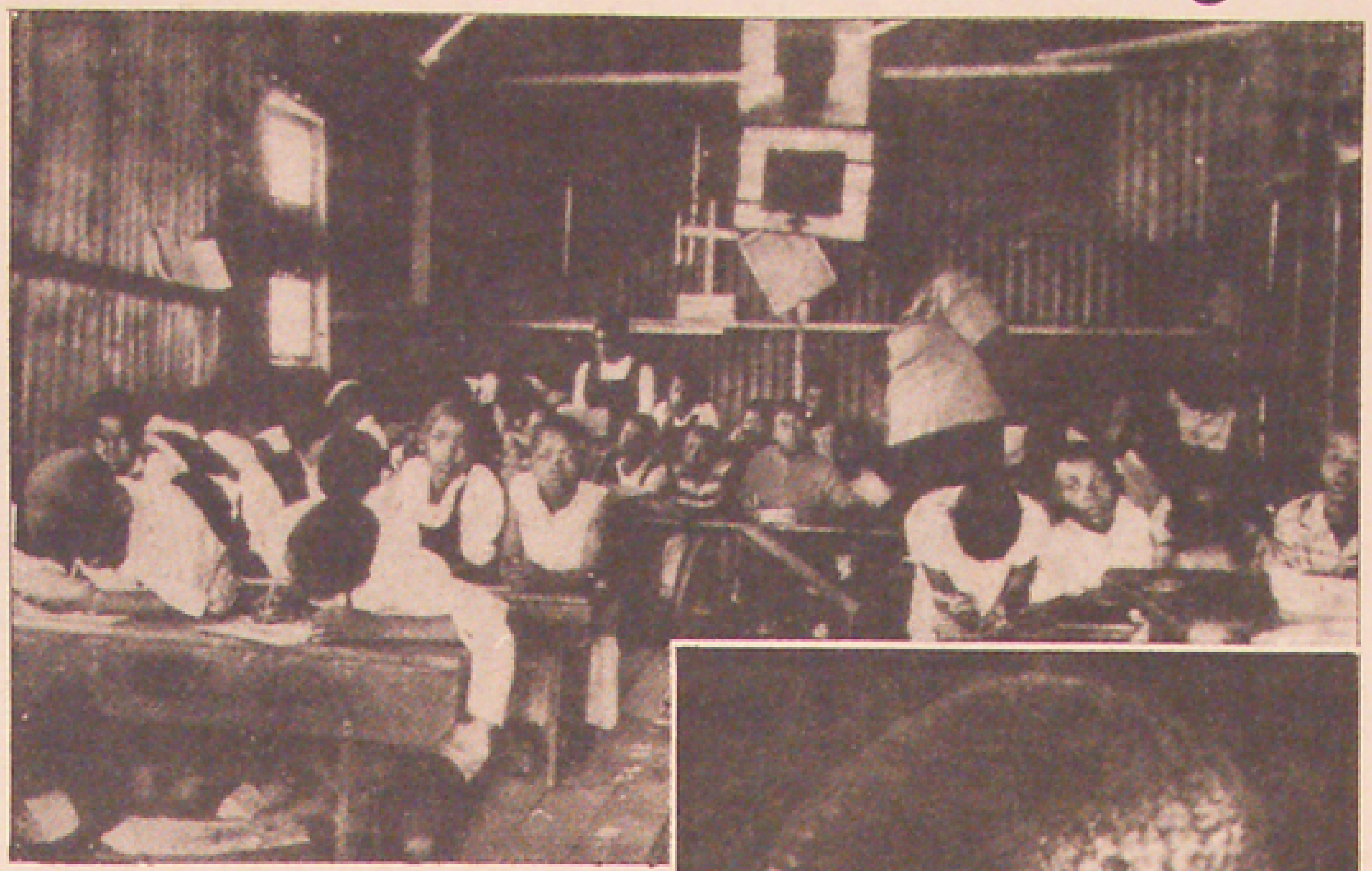
NO LABORATORY

''The school had no laboratory — not even a Bunsen burner. What kind of science can you teach without heat?''

''I felt human,'' she said. ''Education was a dynamic incentive. We thought it was the answer for economic emergence. It was used as bait for Westernization, but now the kids are realizing they're not even getting what we got.''

The new minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Dr. Connie Mulder, has promised to make Soweto ''the most beautiful Black city in Africa.'' But no promises have been made to improve its overcrowding and inferior schools.

''The government will probably





Soweto schoolchildren, despite harassment and beatings by police, are continuing to protest the inferior education provided to Black South African youth.

institute a number of peripheral changes, such as dropping the name 'Bantu' from their education department,'' said Frankel. ''But it will be mostly for overseas consumption. It's against their policy to build schools in Soweto.

''Their emphasis is on rural homelands, not urban areas, and one way to encourage Blacks to return to the homelands is to have the schools there. They are also afraid that Blacks will become too comfortable in city life—once that happens, the whole policy of separate development collapses.''

One result of Bantu education is that there are fewer and fewer qualified Black teachers. A recent survey of 68,000 teachers showed that only 12 per cent had education that would qualify in the White sector.

One Black educator estimated that in Soweto there were only six teachers able to teach senior science.

The drop-out rate is one reason, according to Franz Auerbach, secretary of the South African Federation of Teachers Association, half of all Black students drop out before the 5th grade. Only one in 1,000 graduates from high school.

There is little incentive anyway to become a teacher. A Black teacher with a degree and teaching diploma gets 65 per cent of what his or her White counterpart earns.

And there is little incentive for any Black to finish school, for the racial make-up of the economy makes a good job practically impossible.

''The government educates us so we won't be motivated to higher aspirations,'' said the former science teacher. ''We are educated to serve, while others are educated to supervise.''

And said a Soweto high school drop-out: ''Why should I try to get a degree? So I can end up as a delivery boy or gardener?''□

Elections Boycott

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 19

physician Nthato Motlana, who called for full autonomy for the township. Committee members remain under detention. The election boycott picked up added support at the beginning of last week, *Africa News* reports, when Zulu Chief Gatsha Buthelezi told a crowd of 9,000 in Soweto that no member of Inkatha, the political group he heads, will run in the election.

Buthelezi's stance is expected to have an impact on the adult and largely Zulu-speaking supporters of the Inkatha-linked Soweto Residents Committee, which is more conservative than the Soweto Action Committee.

By organizing the election, the government apparently tried to stem Black anger. ''Prime Minister'' John Vorster also made a tiny gesture in that direction by reorganizing the cabinet department which deals most directly with Africans, appointing two new ministers, and dropping from department titles the term ''Bantu,'' which almost all Soweto African Blacks consider offensive.□

South Africa Determined To Control Walvis Bay

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 18

been changed in the following fashion:

•Judge Steyn has legalized marriage and sex without respect to skin color by abolishing the so-called ''immorality act.''

•He has abolished the ''pass law.'' No longer do Blacks require permission to move from one part of the territory to another, nor are they restricted to their tribal homeland, as in South Africa. No longer are they subject to police challenge to produce travel documents.

•He has given Blacks the right to own land, heretofore forbidden. However, this right is still restricted to Black ''townships.'' He also has relaxed laws that discourage lending institutions from dealing with Blacks.

•He has given all people, including newsmen, access without government permits to the formerly forbidden areas of Owambo, Kavango and Caprivi, the tribal areas which adjoin the border with Angola.

In theory, SWAPO can hold peaceful meetings in the nonmilitary border areas, but in practice army and police harassment makes this unlikely.

•No longer are police authorized to detain people indefinitely without trial, as in South Africa. No longer are political parties required to obtain permission to hold meetings.

•No longer is criticism of authorities prohibited. Only incitement to violence and insurrection is illegal.

Steyn acknowledges that he has not disturbed the deep roots of apartheid in the areas of separate living and schooling.□



Young SWAPO supporter. Despite partial dismantling of apartheid laws in Namibia, SWAPO is still subjected to harassment.

Black Men Killed

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

hall that serves as the CAPA office, coordinator Michael Zinzun, said police murders are one reason for CAPA's existence. "Alvin Whitehead is just one of many" he said bitterly. "Only in the last few months have they began to justify the murders by saying the victims were under the influence of drugs."

A similar justification was given two weeks earlier in the death of Ferdinand Bell, who was found dead in the hospital ward of the County jail. Eyewitnesses say Bell was attacked by police, beaten and strangled after a reckless driving stop. Autopsy reports indicated there were no traces of drugs in Bell's body, contradicting police reports.

These two deaths in less than a month, triggered a public outcry from Black community leaders and a City Council investigation into the use of physical force by police officers, initiated by Black Councilperson Robert Farrell.

FIRST TIME

For the first time, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and Representative Augustus Hawkins also asked for Police Commission investigations into the deaths and the start of talks to determine needed changes in police training and procedure.

Leading the legal and community protest of these latest police attacks is the NAACP. Ironically, victim Ferdinand Bell was chairman of the Youth and Police Community Relations Committee of the NAACP Youth and College Division. The committee, it was hoped, would improve strained relations between police and the minority community — but Bell's death may have killed that hope.

Marion Hill, advisor to the NAACP Youth Division, told *The People's World* the NAACP is working with attorneys for both families. Bell's family has filed a $2 million wrongful death suit against Los Angeles County, and Whitehead's family has indicated they'll take similar steps against city officials.

"The whole community has been enraged by these murders," Hill said heatedly. "The religious community's Inter-Ministerial Alliance is circulating a petition to be signed by every member of their congregation deploring these acts. Our legal personnel will be working in the County jail trying to document other cases of police violence. We want a list of officers who have a history of brutality so this kind of thing doesn't happen again." □

Letters to the Editor

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 2

hours, five days a week to three hours, two nights a week.

Next, after destroying BCS's self-help education program, Williams and Frey focused their attention on the **Black Pride Newsletter**. They immediately launched a systematic campaign of censorship designed to make the newsletter express pro-administrative ideas or destroy it. It is important to note that **Black Pride Newsletter** had served as the BCS principal means of communicating its ideas, problems and needs to the outside world.

Williams forced BCS under threat of disbandment to give up the responsibility of editorship. To replace the BCS editor, Williams named himself as the editor and chief of **Black Pride Newsletter.**

In October, 1975, female participation in BCS Thursday evening programs was discontinued.

Although the ban has since been lifted, discrimination is still applied against women guest. They can only pariticipate in BCS programs if they intend to lecture or read poetry, where as men can come out to listen and observe inmate lectures.

The most critical time in BCS existence came in late 1976 when five officials first sabotaged efforts by BCS to raise funds for various internal projects, and for African liberation organizations recognized by the United Nations.

This was done again by forcing BCS under threat of disbandment to eliminate the position of treasurer; therefore precluding all possibility of BCS raising funds for any projects.

Sixth, Black Dimension, a popular education TV program from WSIU, (Southern Illinois University), scheduled a TV taping of a BCS meeting through Warden Fenton. The BCS requested this taping for the purpose of educating the community about the plight of the Black prisoners and to stress the need for the community to become more involved with the administration of federal prisons. It was our express intent to expose the racist practices Black prisoners are subjected to (statistics show that Blacks serve over 13 months longer than Whites for the same offense), and how Marion officials try to hide their racist hiring practices. When this taping took place, Black and other minority prisoners constituted at least 35 per cent of the prison population, where as there was no more than 10 minority staff persons of a total of over 300.

Just four hours before the above scheduled TV taping chief of classifications and parole Jerry Williford and associate warden Frey summoned a total of 41 BCS members to the administrative section of the prison for the purpose of interrogation. Prisoners were asked questions like when do you expect to go home? Are you going to participate in the BCS TV taping? Do the Black prisoners have greivances against Marion prison officials? If given the chance to speak at the TV taping what would you say?

At the conclusion of each interview most prisoners were told that BCS is not a political organization and prisoners participating in a BCS TV taping were not to discuss politics.

As a consequence of this entire afternoon of interrogation five prisoners were locked in segregation: all were active in BCS and known to be articulate speakers.

Since the time of the taping, the situation has further deteriorated. In June, 1977, R.L. Williams informed BCS that the prison education department will no longer approve any BCS classes on philosophy and political economy.

Several members of BCS have been suspended or permanently barred from participating in BCS. Gordon (Kamau) Faust was suspended for over one year for soliciting entertainment for the Marion prison population through the mail with R. Musgraves prior approval. More recently Eugene Agee, a student and assistant coordinator of Black Affairs Council at SIU, was restricted from attending BCS activities on Thursday nights because he wrote an article in a student newspaper about Marion officials attempting to confiscate the BCS library.

The most recent incident of racist repression occurred over the Christmas holidays. The move **Bushman**, which won critical acclaim at the San Francisco International Film Festival, was approved for a showing at Marion. When the movie arrived, it was censored twice by prison officials and disapproved. We were told that it could be offensive to Whites and therefore could cause "disorder" in the prison. This again is significant because the racist movie **Klansman** was shown here as well as **Snuff** without causing disorder.

1). The Black Culture Society has filed a lawsuit in federal court to counter prison officials harassment of the organization and the suppression of their newsletter **Black Pride**,. Write Judge James C. Foreman, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Illinois, East St. Louis 62201, and demand that he rule on the reinstatement of the newsletter, and the First Amendment rights of BCS and its members.

2). Sign our petition and circulate it.

3). The Black Culture Society is filing a complaint with the U.S. Civil Service Commission to have R.L. Williams, and R.M. Musgraves removed from their positions because of their obvious racist hostility towards Black people, and their racially motivated attacks upon BCS. The brothers of BCS want people to write letters to the Commission in support of this action.

4). Write your Congressperson and register a complaint about the racist repression against BCS.

5). Publicize the case.

The Black Culture Society

Intelligence Czar

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 7

ambassadors around the world authority to supervise "all U.S. government officers and employees in their countries" had produced widely divergent interpretations by the CIA director and the State Department.

The State Department issued a guideline simply amplifying Carter's directive, which was reportedly an effort to curb widely-criticized CIA covert operations abroad. The CIA guidelines, however, noted "special exceptions" to what an ambassador might oversee, including prohibitions on communicating details of covert operations and of administrative procedures undertaken by agency station chiefs.

Carter last month ordered a much bally-hoed major reorganization of the scandal-ridden U.S. intelligence community. After signing the executive order, the President took the occassion to express his "sincere and complete confidence in Turner," an Annapolis classmate he named as CIA director a little over a year ago.

Turner emerged from the reorganization with greatly enhanced authority. If Carter's will prevails, Turner will control not only the CIA's budget, but the budgets for the intelligence arms of the Pentagon — National Security Agency (NSA) — and the Defense Department.

LEGISLATION

Two weeks ago, the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence introduced legislation to curb intelligence abuses. The Senate proposal would create a director of national intelligence and formalize a command structure similar to one set forth in Carter's order. The Senate bill, however, would leave the powerful NSA under the Defense Department. If these legislative charters become law, they would supersede Carter's order.

Just as his predecessors, Turner has been reluctant to provide information about matters of substance.

Concerning Carter's letter on covert operations abroad, a State Department official, interpreting the Turner guidelines, said, "In effect they stated that the President's letter and the State Department guidelines do not apply to the CIA."

The Carter letter, published over two months ago was described by the State Department as going "beyond similar communications" in 1961 by President Kennedy and in 1969 by President Nixon. □

Coal Strike Begins To Take Its Toll

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

hundreds of thousands of layoffs are threatened across the country because of electrical power reductions; businesses, schools and industries are being forced to cut back activities, and riot-equipped National Guardsmen are escorting dwindling coal supplies as they are shipped to areas hit hardest by the strike.

The UMW bargaining council, under pressure from rank-and-file members, two weeks ago rejected a proposed settlement agreed to by Miller and the BCOA. Many provisions were considered worse than the previous contract.

Instead of a full-paid health plan, there would be only partial coverage. The provision that doomed Miller's contract, however, was the effort to curb wildcat strikes over safety and other grievances.

Not only would UMW members be required to cross any wildcat picket line, they would be fined over $20 a day if they did not cross it. Wildcat strikers would be fined and strike leaders could be fired.

One West Virginia miner said (and interviews with miners in nearly every region brought the same answer): "My pappy taught me never to cross a picket line and I ain't about to start to now, no way!"

Carter last week declared an emergency situation in Ohio and ordered Energy Secretary James R. Schlesinger and Labor Secretary Ray Marshall to meet with the governors of the nine hard-hit states and other officials to meet in Canton, Ohio, to work out an energy-sharing grid among power companies in and near the nine-state area.

The emergency energy center in Canton was to locate any coal that could be moved to critical areas.

Miners have viewed these actions as efforts to sabotage the strike.

Since the strike began, a section of Norfolk and Western Railway in Mercer County, West Virginia, has been dynamited, allegedly by UMW members. A number of trucks hauling non-union coal have been forced to dump their loads on the roadside in some areas. Also, there are thousands of tons of already mined coal in rail cars that have not been moved although mined before the strike began December 6, the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* reports.

"We don't want anybody to be cold," said Ray Gibson, president of Local 7086 in southern West Virginia's District 29, "but we feel it does hurt our bargaining position to have coal move freely."



Indiana National Guardsmen survey convoy of 57 coal trucks they escorted into the Cayuga power plant.

Most utilities in the area had only a three weeks' supply of coal and some only had enough for two months more of full operation.

CARTER'S ORDERS

Under Carter's orders, states could suspend air pollution controls for 30 days — that would save up to 10 per cent on fuel. They could also order cuts in use of power by industries.

Some 250 militant coal miners demonstrated on the steps of the state Capitol and elsewhere in Charleston February 15, as the movement to oust Miller as president of the UMW picked up steam in the West Virginia and Appalachian soft-coal region.

"It stinks," was one of the milder ways demonstrators described the settlement proposed by Miller and the coal industry two weeks ago.

After more than an hour of fiery speeches, a group of about 30 miners strode unexpectedly into the offices of the regional coal operators' association to emphasize their demands.

SPEECHES

After a few more sidewalk speeches, miners moved on to the U.S. courthouse to express their solidarity with miners being questioned before a federal grand jury. That jury is investigating alleged acts of violence and destruction of coal company property that occured during last summer's wildcat strikes in the region.

Bill Bryant, the local leader of the movement to have Miller recalled, said his group had collected almost enough signatures to force the union leadership to start formal recall proceedings.

Some miners at the demonstration said in interviews that they felt Carter was siding with the coal industry in the dispute by suggesting that he might try to force the miners back to work under the provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act.

"If push comes to shove, the government will back the coal operators," said one miner. Then referring to the militant leader who headed the union for decades, the miner added:

"John L. Lewis said 'Let the troops mine the coal' and that's the way I feel."□

Alabama Activist

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 11

claim that Harris' prosecution was an attempt by the state of Alabama to prevent further prisoner protest through fear, and to discredit the just demands of prisoners for tolerable conditions.

At the time of his death penalty conviction in 1975, Harris was serving five life sentences, which he had received when court-appointed lawyers forced him to plead guilty to alleged robbery of small amounts of money and a charge of raping a White woman. Several of the robberies for which Harris was sentenced occured while he was in jail. The alleged rape victim was shown pictures of Harris shortly before "identifying him in a lineup. Lawyers refused to take the time to contact as witnesses people who were with Harris at the time the rape was supposed to have occurred.

In the state habeas petition proceedings, Harris' current lawyers plan to show these circumstances to the court and show that he should never have been serving life sentences or any time in prison in the first place.



Segregation unit at Alabama's infamous Atmore-Holman Prison, scene of an inmate rebellion in January, 1974.

According to Tom Gardner, spokesperson for the Committee to Defend Imani and Stop the Death Penalty, Harris' original life sentence made him the perfect offering at the altar of Attorney General William Baxley's political ambition. "In an effort to combat his "liberal" image and gather the Wallace votes, Baxley revived the death penalty in Alabama and personally prosecuted Imani."

The prosecution of Donald Thigpen, the other man with a March 10 execution date, followed shortly. At Harris' request, his lawyers, Diana Hicks, Clinton Brown, and William Allison, now represent Thigpen as well.

Alabama has since passed a new death penalty law without repealing the old one.□

A PROGRAM FOR SURVIVAL

"All these programs satisfy the deep needs of the community but they are not solutions to our problems. That is why we call them survival programs, meaning survival pending revolution." — Huey P. Newton



MARTIAL ARTS PROGRAM

GEORGE JACKSON MEDICAL CLINIC

Provides free medical treatment and preventative medical care for the people.

THE SICKLE CELL ANEMIA RESEARCH FOUNDATION

Established to test and create a cure for Sickle Cell Anemia. The foundation informs people about Sickle Cell Anemia and maintains an advisory committee of doctors researching this crippling disease.

PEOPLE'S FREE DENTAL PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free dental check-ups, treatment and an educational program for dental hygiene.

PEOPLE'S FREE OPTOMETRY PROGRAM

(Being implemented)
Provides free eye examinations, treatment and eyeglasses for the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE AMBULANCE PROGRAM

Provides free, rapid transportation for sick or injured people without time-consuming checks into the patients' financial status or means.

FREE FOOD PROGRAM

Provides free food to Black and other oppressed people.

FREE BREAKFAST PROGRAM

Provides children with a free, nourishing, hot breakfast every school morning.

FOOD COOPERATIVE PROGRAM

Provides food for the people through community participation and community cooperative buying.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

Provides news and information about the world and Black and oppressed communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE COMMUNITY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Provides free job-finding services to poor and oppressed people.

SHOE PROGRAM

(Being Implemented)
Provides free shoes, made at the People's Free Shoe Factory, to the people.

PEOPLE'S FREE CLOTHING PROGRAM

Provides new, stylish and quality clothing free to the people.



OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

PEOPLE'S FREE LEGAL AID AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Provides legal aid classes and full legal assistance to people who are in need.

FREE BUSING TO PRISONS PROGRAM

Provides free transportation to prisons for families and friends of prisoners.

FREE COMMISSARY FOR PRISONERS PROGRAM

Provides imprisoned men and women with funds to purchase necessary commissary items.

SENIORS AGAINST A FEARFUL ENVIRONMENT (S.A.F.E.) PROGRAM

Provides free transportation and escort service for senior citizens to and from community banks on the first of each month.

PEOPLE'S COOPERATIVE HOUSING PROGRAM

Provides, with federal government aid, decent, low-cost and high-quality housing for Black and poor communities.

PEOPLE'S FREE PLUMBING AND MAINTENANCE PROGRAM

Provides free plumbing and repair services to improve people's homes.

FREE PEST CONTROL

Free household extermination of rats, roaches and other disease-carrying pests and rodents.

OAKLAND COMMUNITY SCHOOL

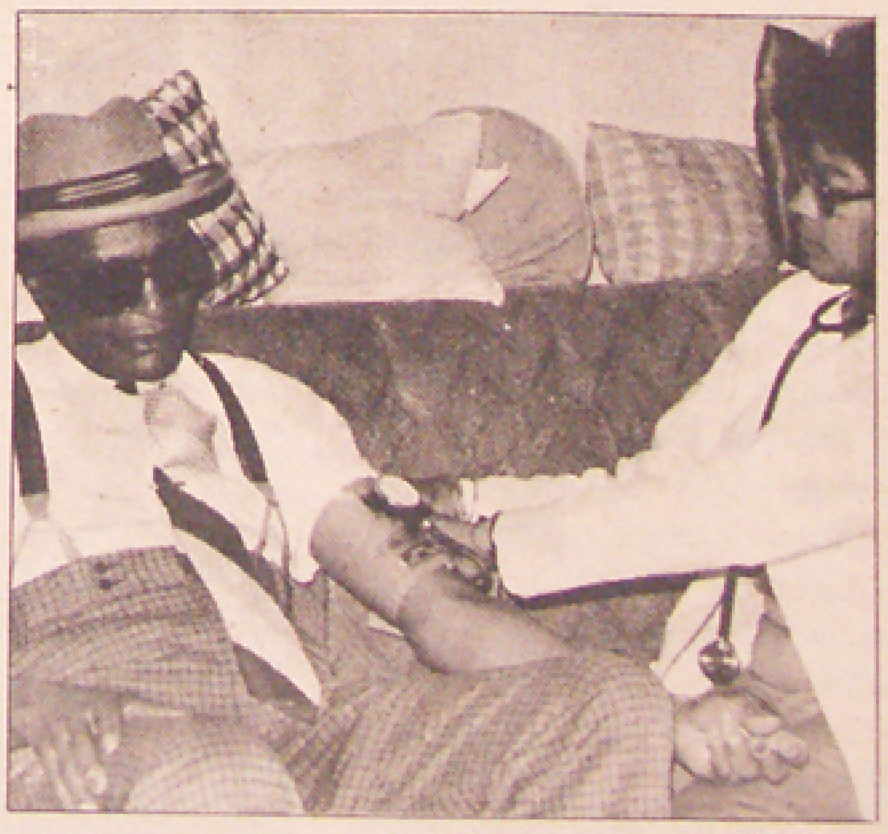
Provides Black and other oppressed children with a scientific method of thinking about and analyzing things. This method develops basic skills for living in this society.

LIBERATION SCHOOLS: FREE MUSIC AND DANCE PROGRAMS

Provides children free supplementary educational facilities and materials to promote a correct view of their role in the society and provides support for the Music and Dance programs of the Oakland Community School.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT CENTER

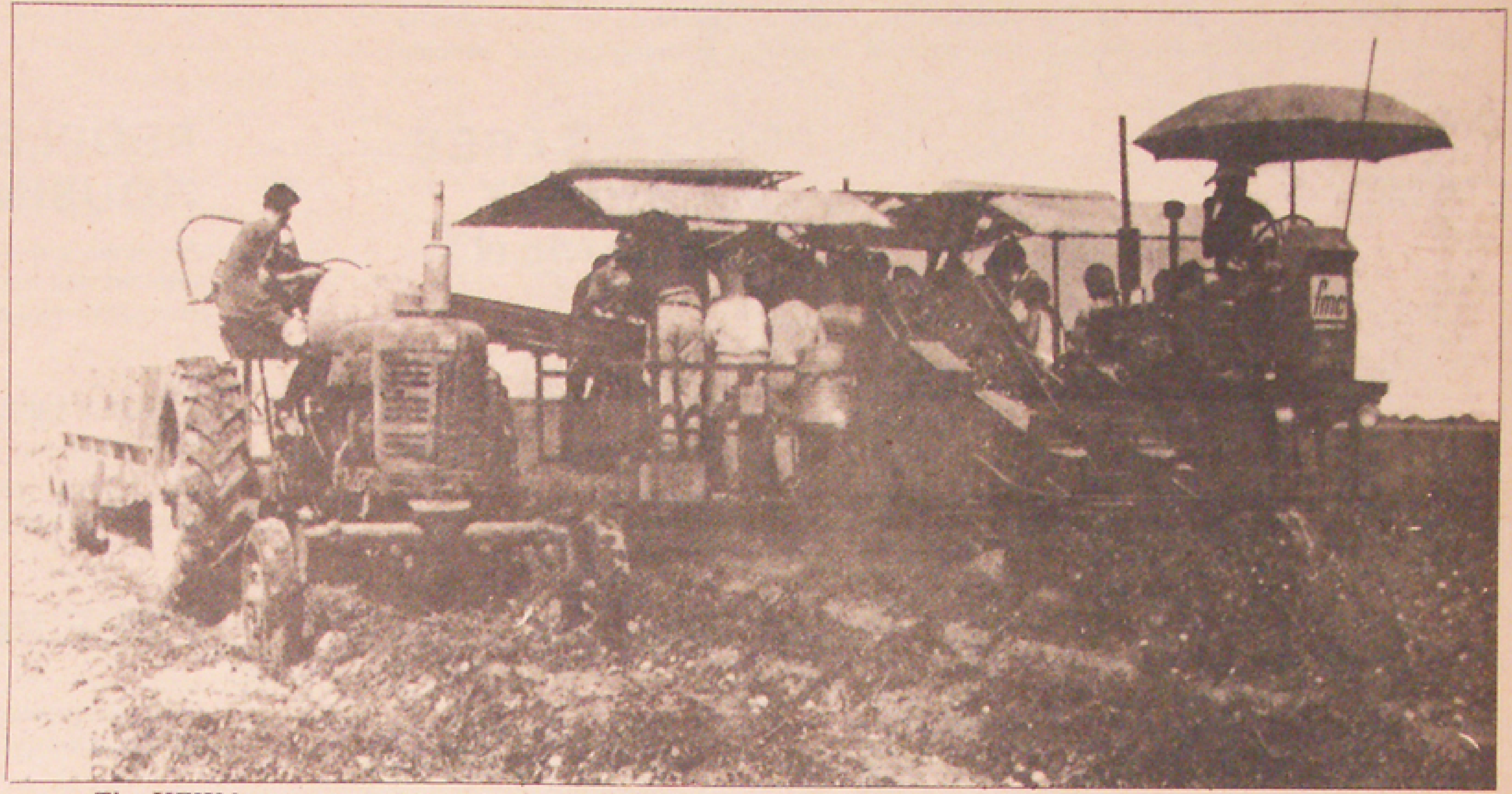
Provides 24-hour child care facilities for infants and children between the ages of 2 months and three years. Youth are engaged in a scientific program to develop their physical and mental facilities at the earliest ages.



PEOPLE'S FREE MEDICAL CLINIC

MECHANIZATION TAKING AWAY THOUSANDS OF JOBS

U.F.W. CONFRONTS FARM TECHNOLOGY – CHAVEZ PLEDGES FIGHT


The UFW has proposed legislation limiting farm mechanization, such as the tomato harvester shown above.

(San Francisco, Calif.) - The battle lines are being drawn by Cesar Chavez and agricultural interests over the latest target of the United Farm Workers of America — mechanization.

Chavez says that the UFW will take the issue of mechanization to the public, and that the campaign will focus on farm workers who have lost jobs as a result of mechanization and "others hurt by machines."

Last week, at a University of California Regents meeting in Los Angeles, Chavez charged that Governor Jerry Brown should appoint a blue ribbon committee to determine the extent of job losses due to mechanization brought about by U.C. researchers.

Such a committee, Chavez said, should be independent of the university.

RESEARCH PROGRAM

He observed that the U.C. farm research program has enjoyed "tremendous success," adding, "The other half is that the university should help workers displaced by mechanization."

Les Hubbard of the Western Growers Association says the 1,200-member organization will fight "with everything we have" to kill UFW-proposed legislation that would require U.C. to prepare a "social impact statement" before agricultural mechanization research is done.

At a conference at the University of Santa Clara recently, Chavez said there is a "wanton and reckless" drive towards mechanization in California agriculture.

The state Assembly Office of Research estimates that 20,000 of the 112,000 harvest jobs in 10 major crops may disappear by 1982 because of mechanization.

Darryl Arnold, Western Growers vice president, predicts the association's members will need 25 per cent fewer farm workers within five years.

"We're not against mechanization," said Mack Lyons, the UFW's legislative director in Sacramento. "Our position is that mechanization should benefit everyone, not just growers."

Last April, at a legislative hearing, the UFW presented testimony showing that University of California mechanization research had resulted in more than 30,000 farm workers losing their jobs in tomato fields alone, according to the UFW's Michael Linfield.

He said there are 29 mechanization projects underway at U.C. that will affect more than 175,000 harvest jobs for farm workers.

The UFW is asking the university to cease research that could be used to break strikes, to determine the social impact of all agricultural mechanization research projects prior to undertaking the project, and to declare a moratorium on all such research until a state-wide plan is developed that would compensate, retrain and place into productive jobs those farm workers who lose jobs to machines.

Lyons said "conflict of interest" problems exist because several U.C. regents have ties to agribusiness interest, such as Del Monte.

Regents have received a flurry of letters from agricultural interests opposed to the UFW's demands.


UFW leader CESAR CHAVEZ.

"Mechanization in agriculture does not necessarily mean reduced employment opportunities nor can the solution to unemployment of unskilled workers be achieved through restraint on technological innovation," said a letter from William Thomas, executive vice president of the California Food Producers.

TREESHAKERS

Tree shakers of the kind used by prune growers were developed in the 1950's at U.C. Davis. Over the last 30 years, a vast array of machinery has been developed on that campus, financed primarily with tax dollars but with some financial help from farm owners who have had an influence on the direction the research took.

For example, a group of Salinas lettuce growers gave the university $13,000 to develop a lettuce harvester after the UFW struck them in 1970.

One of the most sophisticated machines developed at Davis is an electronic tomato sorter that uses a combination of infrared lights and color sensors to tell a green tomato from a cannery ripe one. Those electronic eyes replaced 5,000 California farm workers during the 1976 harvest, according to the state Employment Development Department.

But tomatoes developed for machine picking don't taste as good as the kind picked by the hand, according to some consumers. "They taste like rubber," state Senator Walter Stiern said about a new strain of tomatoes used in canneries.

The Santa Clara mechanization conference included a UFW presentation on mechanical techniques used in harvesting tomatoes, wine grapes, raisin grapes, lettuce, peaches, apricots, cherries, melons, strawberries, olives, apples and celery. Lyons said that 30 to 100 per cent of those crops will be picked by machine in a few years, and that this would mean the loss of thousands of jobs.

"We will introduce a bill that would create a mechanization displacement fund," Lyons said. "This would tax the machine and the output of the machine.

"The bill would require two-year advance notice that a company is either going to mechanize or is planning to move out of the state."

Lyons said the measure would require severance pay for the worker who loses his job because of mechanization or because the company moves. The bill also would provide that jobs be created for displaced farm workers, who then would be retrained for them.

Lyons contends that taxpayers should not pay for university research and then pay again for costs attributed to unemployment of farm workers.□